[श्री कल्पनाथ राय

इन पूंजीपतियों को दे रही है। ये पूंजीपति राजधानी दिल्ली के आस-पास के जो इलाके हैं पंजाब, राजस्थान, हरियाणा और उत्तर प्रदेश वहां पर अपने कारखाने लगा रहे हैं और उन कारखानों में लाखों लाख लोग जिनको गांव से उजाड़ कर फेंक दिया है वे दिल्ली में आकर शरण ले रहे हैं इस समय दिल्ली में करीब दो-तीन लाख लोग विभिन्न गांवों से उजड़ कर बस गये हैं। दिल्ली में बिजली का संकट, दिल्ली में पानी का संकट, दिल्ली में परिवहन का संकट है और पूरा राजधानी दिल्ली का वातावरण विषाक्त बन रहा है। दिल्ली शहर को पोपुलेशन के बढ़ने के कारण खतरा बढ़ गया है। और यहां के पर्यावरण के लिए संकट पैदा हो गया है। दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन और डी.डी.ए. ने सरकार के सामने यह प्रस्ताव रखा था कि अगर उसको दो हजार करोड़ रुपये दे दिये जायें तो वे इन झुग्गी झोंपड़ा में रहने वालों के लिए कंस्ट्रक्शन का काम शुरू कर सकते हैं। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी यहां पर मौजूद हैं, पूरे दिल्ली के लिए सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में सिर्फ 70 करोड़ रुपयों की व्यवस्था की गई है। अगले पांच वर्षों में दिल्ली में कम से कम 15 लाख झुग्गी झोंपड़ियों की संख्या बढ़ जाएगी क्योंकि गांवों से लोग दिल्ली की तरफ आ रहे है। गांवों में जो सूखे का संकट है, भुखमरी का संकट है, रोजी-रोटी का संकट है बाढ़ का संकट है, उसका मुकाबला करने के लिए लोग दिल्ली में आ रहे हैं। इसलिए दिल्ली में इन लोगों की संख्या लाखों में बढ़ने वाली है। इसलिए मैं भारत सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि दिल्ली की रक्षा करने के लिए वह कदम उठाये जितने भी लोग इन झुग्गी-झोंपड़ी में बसते है उनको ठीक ढंग से रहने के लिए सुविधा दे। दिल्ली में देश विदेश से बहुत बड़ी संख्या में लोग आते हैं। एक तरफ जो वे पांच सितारा होटलों को देखते हैं और दूसरी तरफ वे देखते हैं कि लाखों लोग इन झुग्गी झोंपड़ियों में नारकीय जीवन बिता रहे है। इस लिए मैं सरकार से और माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे दिल्ली की इस समस्या को केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल के सामने रखें और दिल्ली में बाहर से आने वालों को बिलकुल बंद करें। असल समस्या यह है कि बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपति दिल्ली के आस-पास अपनी इंडस्ट्रीज को लगा रहे हैं वे दिल्ली में रहना चाहते हैं। राजस्थान के अलवर में वे अपने कारखाने लगा रहे है और दिल्ली के आस-पास हरियाणा और उत्तर प्रदेश में अपने कारखाने लगा रहे है। इसलिए मजदूर भी दिल्ली में रहने लगे है। इस कारण से पूरे दिल्ली शहर के पर्यावरण के लिए संकट पैदा हो गया है। कुछ ही दिन में दिल्ली भी कलकत्ता, बम्बई आदि शहरों की भांति नरक बनाने जा रही है। इसलिए मेरा सरकार से निवेदन है कि वह इस बात को मद्देनजर रखते हुए इस दिशा में कोई ठोस और समय बद्ध कदम उठाये ताकि दिल्ली के पर्यावरण को विषाक्त होने से बचाया जा सके।

**THE FINANCE BILL, 1986**

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): Sir, I beg to move:

> "That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1986-87, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir, the salient features of the important proposals contained in the Bill have been explained in my Budget speech. The details of the proposals in the Bill have been set out in the Explanatory Memorandum circulated along with the Budget papers. I do not, therefore, propose to traverse the same ground again.

As you are aware, the Bill has now been before the hon. Members for more than two months. During the general discussion on the Budget and thereafter, hon. Members from both the Houses made useful suggestions in regard to the provisions contained in the Bill. I would like to thank the hon. Members and all others who

have made useful and constructive suggestions regarding the provisions in the Bill.

After a careful consideration of these suggestions, I have moved certain amendments to the Bill in the Lok Sabha which have been accepted and incorporated in the Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha. I shall, at this stage, confine my observations to the main changes which have been made to some of the provisions of the Bill during its consideration in the Lok Sabha. I shall first deal with the provisions relating to the indirect taxes. As the House is aware, in the case of indirect taxes, a large number of modifications and concessions which have provided substantial relief to the small scale sector, have been successively announced. Various procedural problems in regard to the implementation of the MODVAT scheme brought to the Government's notice have also been resolved. The important areas of relief in excise and customs duties are the following:—

(i) Excise duty on refined mustard oil and rapeseed oil has been reduced from Rs. 1,500 per metric tonne to Rs. 750 per metric tonne. Refined oils produced from solvent extracted oils as well as castor oil and tobacco seed oil have been exempted from excise duty completely.

(ii) Concessional specific rates of excise duty have been prescribed for units engaged in body building of motor vehicles. The rate for trucks for goods transport would be Rs. 4,000 per truck and that for other type of bodies would be Rs. 8,000 per unit. The procedure for duty collection from independent body builders has also been simplified. Such units would be exempted from maintaining daily production account.

(iii) The relief from excise duty in the case of goods captively consumed has been extended to additional areas of industry. In particular, the relief will be applicable in the case of parts of machinery, appliances and instruments etc. used for repairs/maintenance within the factory or any other factory of the same manufacturer; certain inorganic chemicals used in the manufacture of wood pulp and artificial fibre/yarn; hydrogen and nitrogen used captively; abrasive grains used in the manufacture of grinding wheels; gravure printing cylinders and lithographic plates for printing; carbon ink used for manufacture of carbon papers; china clay, refractory containers and Plaster of paris; moulds used in the manufacture of ceramic products; sub-assemblies assemblies units parts when captively consumed in the manufacture of computers of all sorts (including central processing units and peripheral devices; and parts used captively in the manufacture of one day alarm time pieces.

(iv) Set-off of excise duty and/or additional duty of customs, as the case may be, will now be available in respect of urea going into the manufacture of urea formaldehyde resins; certain organic chemicals going into the manufacture of textile fibres/yarns; acrylonitrile used in the manufacture of acrylic fibre and certain other goods used in the manufacture of paper/paper board and starch in the manufacture of modified starch and other starches.

(v) Full exemption from excise duty has been provided in the case of mohair yarn and tops, carded wool, paper splints for matches, paper labels, bamboo, ice, jute bags made from duty paid jute fabrics, fishing nets, hair fixeres, ropes, twine, cordage etc. made from duty paid yarn; resin and turpentine made without the aid of power, rubber balloons, 'made up' articles produced on weft pile knitting mac-

[Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

hines; cotton belting of width not exceeding 15 cms. and not containing any plastic materials, and textured soya protein and soya milk. Excise duty on wooden furniture has been reduced from 25 per cent to 15 per cent and that on kerosene pressure lanterns and parts from 35 per cent to 15 per cent. Additional duty of excise on embroidered cotton fabric has been restored to the earlier level equal to the duty paid on th base fabrics, if not already paid. Similarly, excise duty on speciality oils made from duty paid mineral oils is being restored to 12 per cent. In respect of larger paper mills using at least 50 per cent uncoventional raw materials, excise duty has been reduced from 10 per cent plus Rs. 850 per metric tonne to 10 per cent plus Rs. 700 per metric tonne.

(vi) The exemption limit for taking out a Central Excise Licence by small scale units has been raised from Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 10 lakhs. Felts, all sorts, French Coffee and evaporative type of coolers and parts have been included in the general small scale exemption scheme. Certain modifications to the MODVAT rules removing difficulties in respect of bringing back of waste arising in the course of manufacture of final products in the premises of a job worker have also been made. It has been decided to extend the proforma credit under rule 56A to all cases where the facility was available under the erstwhile tariff classification.

(vii) In the case of portable typewriters of carriage size not exceeding 25 cms. separate specific rate of excise duty of Rs. 300 per typewriter has been provided. In respect of other manual typewriters, the specific rates of duty have been suitably modified.

(viii) Excise duty on plastic films, including cellular films but ling under certain specified subexcludeing polyurethane foam falheadings of the Central Excise Tariff has been reduced from 35 per cent *ad valorem* to 25 per cent *ad valorem*.

(ix) In order to help small manufacturers of leather cloth with turnover not exceeding Rs. 1.50 crores excise duty on leather cloth has been reduced by 50 per cent for the first clearance of 3 lakh sq. metres of leather cloth from such units. Set-off of duty paid on PVC resins used in the manufacture of leather cloth has also been allowed. A flat rate of excise duty of 30 per cent *ad valorem* has been provided for certain rejects and cut pieces of leather cloth.

(x) The concessional rate of customs duty of 40 per cent *ad valorem* in respect of components for the manufacture of 15 identified medical equipments was provided in the Budget proposals. The concession has been extended to additional 19 highly specialised medical equipments such as cardioscopes, Hypothermic Unit for Open-heart Surgery, Ultra Sound Scanner, etc.

(xi) I had provided for a specific rate of customs duty of Rs. 10.500 per metric tonne in respect of PVC resins mainly with a view to curbing the problem of under-valuation in imports and also to protect the interests of domestic industry. It was represented by the domestic industry that the import duty incidence on certain specially resins like paste grade and battery grade PVC resins had come down considerably, adversely affecting the interests of the indigenous manufacturers of such resins. In order to remedy this a higher specific rate of import duty of Rs. 15 000 per metric tonne in respect of PVC paste grade and PVC battery grade resins has been provided.

The revenue sacrifice involved in respect of post-Budget exemptions and amendments is Rs. 79 crores in the case of excise duty and Rs. 2.9 crores in the case of customs duty.

I would now take up the proposals relating to Direct Taxes. Members will recall that in the course of the general discussion on the Budget, I had made a statement on the 2nd of April, 1986, indicating changes to my proposals as under in the Lok Sabha:

(i) The power of income-tax authorities to collect prescribed information for purposes of survey was proposed to be restricted to business premises only. Here I may explain the power of search remain even in residential areas.

(ii) In respect of self-occupied property which has been acquired or constructed with borrowed funds, deduction of interest up to Rs. 5,000 was proposed to be made available.

(iii) Tre proposal to delete Section 80M of the Income-tax Act relating to deduction in respect of intercorporate dividends was to be withdrawn.

(iv) The scheme of Tea Development Account applicable to tea industry was proposed to be brought on par with the new provision relating to Investment Deposit Account.

The amendments as proposed above in the Finance Bill have been accepted and incorporated in the Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha along with some other proposals which are as follows:

(a) As per one of the provisions of the Finance Bill, taxpayers claiming deduction under the investment deposit account were not to be allowed deduction by way of investment allowance. Through an amendment it has been provided that the benefit of 'carry forward and set-off of the unabsorbed portion of the investment allowance be made admissible even in cases where the benefit of investment deposit account have been claimed.

(b) The Bill as presented in the Lok Sabha sought to provide that a deduction upto 20 per cent of the profits of eligible business or profession be allowed if such profits are deposited in accordance with the scheme framed or are utilised for the purchase of any ship, aircraft, machinery or plant. Since the investment allowance is admissible in respect of only a new ship, new plant etc., it has been proposed to build in the same condition in the investment deposit scheme. At the same time, it has been clarified that second-hand ships, aircrafts, machinery and plant are also to qualify for relief just as they are entitled to investment allowance on satisfaction of certain conditions specified in the Act.

(c) The deduction relating to the investment deposit scheme is allowable if the deposit is made or any amount is utilised for the purchase of ship, plant, etc. out of the income chargeable to tax as profits and gains from business and profession. The term 'profit' in this regard has been defined in the Bill in order to ensure uniformity in the matter of determining such profits for the purpose of claiming this tax benefit and also to reduce the area of possible litigation.

(d) It has also been proposed that deduction in respect of long-term capital gains in the case of assessees other than companies on the sale of gold, bullion or jewellery be allowed on par with the deductions available on the sale of land or buildings. Simultaneously, the redundant proviso to Section 80T regarding a ceiling on the deduction has been deleted.

The other amendments are of a consquential or drafting nature and I would not like to take the time of the House in dealing with them.

I would like to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Members to the action proposed relating to three items which

had been included in my Budget Speech for 1986-87. They are as under:

(a) In para 96 of my Budget Speech I had proposed to introduce a system of allowing depreciation in respect of blocks of assets instead of the present system of depreciation on individual assets. This proposal will be made effective from 2-4-1987 and will be implemented through a separate Amendment Bill.

(b) In para 98 of my Budget Speech I had proposed to allow a deduction in respect of medical expenses by self-employed persons. This will be implemented through a separate Amendment Bill.

(c) In para 100 of my Budget Speech I had announced the decision of the Government to frame simpler rules for the valuation of the assets for the purpose of wealth-tax. The draft rules dated 31st March, 1986 proposed to be made in this regard have already been published for the information of all persons likely to be affected thereby and objections and suggestions with reference to the said rules have been invited by 15th May, 1986.

I also propose to make a change in the provision for bad and doubtful debts of the banks. Scheduled banks are permitted a deduction of 10 per cent of the total income or an amount of 2 per cent of the aggregate average advances made by the rural branches of such banks towards provision for bad and doubtful debts. It is proposed to amend this provision by permitting a deduction limited to 6 per cent of the income and 2 per cent of the aggregate average advances. This will be brought about by a separate Amendment Bill.

I had promised to announce a package of incentives for development of exports in the area of Direct Taxes. I am happy to announce the following amendments which will be brought on the statute through an Amendment Bill in due course:

(i) In the interest of development of exports, I have decided to amend section 80 HHC to provide larger exemption from income-tax to various types of exporters. It is proposed to allow deductions to the extent of 4 per cent of the net foreign exchange realisation *plus* 50 per cent of the remaining net profit. The net foreign exchange realisation will be as defined in the Import Export Policy.

(ii) In order to encourage the activity of execution of projects outside India which is one of the sources of earning foreign exchange, Section 80HHB will be amended by a separate Amendment Bill so as to secure that the deduction will be admissible of an amount equal to 50 per cent of profits as against the existing rate of deduction of 25 per cent of profits from such activity.

(iii) Any profits and gains in respect of newly established industrial undertakings in Free Trade Zones is not taxable for five initial years beginning from the year in which such undertaking begins to manufacture or produce articles or things. In order to enable such assessees to avail of this tax benefit in a longer time frame, it is proposed to amend this provision to secure that within 8 years of the year in which the industrial undertaking begins to manufacture or produce articles or things, an assessee will be entitled to avail of this benefit for any five consecutive assessment years at his option. As per the provision of section 10(30) of the Income-tax Act in the case of an assessee carrying on business of growing and manufacturing tea in India, the amount of any subsidy received from the Tea Board is not included as income. Steps are being taken to ensure that similar subsidies received from various

Governmental agencies by the persons who carry on the business of growing and manufacturing rubber, coffee and cardamom will be exempted from tax.

I am confident that the hon. Members will lend their full support to the Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha.

Sir, I move.

*The question was proposed.*

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, as I rise to speak on this amended Finance Bill, a sense of unreality pervades me. In fact, Sir, I will request the House to consider how much sence is left in discussing this Bill in the Rajya Sabha, after it has been passed in the Lok Sabha. We cannot propose amendments, though the Finance Minister...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): For the future.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Yes, for the future. For the present, none. It is my suggestion that in future, the discussion on the Finance Bill in the Rajya Sabha may precede that in the Lok Sabha so that amendments when announced take into account the discussion in the Rajya Sabha also. Apart from that, I will just make a brief comment on this that the various changes in the excise duties and custom duties need to be scrutinised in more detail. We know by now that a former Finance Minister has been accused of granting concessions unduly in order to benefit somebody. I do not know if that excludes himself. Even the present Finance Minister has been accused by the press that he is in collusion with a certain textile firm while imposing duty on PTA and making concessions on DMT. Now my suggestion is that to avoid this kind of accusations Parliament should form committees to enquire into every single change, the rationale of it, because the Public Accounts Committee also has commented in the past that the rationale of many of the changes is far from the interests of national economy and patriotism; rather it is more personal individualistic. Therefore, I make the suggestion to the Finance Minister to see whether or not such an arrangement can be entered into.

But, Sir, the sense of unreality is further deepened for something else. The Finance Minister in the budget speech and subsequently everywhere has suggested that there is a resource crisis. And yet, to his credit, it seems, all the necessary requirements for the Seventh Five Year Plan for this year have been fulfilled. This is somewhat bewildering; this is amazing. Let me try to find out what explains these two opposites. Firstly, is there a resource crisis? And what is the context? It is not widely known that the Senventh Five Year Plan in real terms is virtually no step-up at all compared to the Sixth Five Year Plan. The monetary illusion is there that while we have accomplished Rs. 1,10,000 crores in the public sector in the Sixth Five Year Plan in overall size, the size of the Seventh Five Year Plan in the public sector is Rs. 1,80,000 crores. Let me contend that this is an illusion. As you all know, this figure of Rs. 1,10,000 crores is an aggregate...of expenditures in terms of current prices of each year of the Sixth Five Year Plan. If we bring them up to 1984-85 prices, the calculation is the prices of metals, etc. which are basic to investment, have risen in the course of the Sixth Five Year Plan by 75 per cent. If we take a mid point, say, 37 per cent and calculate, Rs. 1,10,000 croroes updated to the prices of 1984-85 will mean Rs. 1,50,000 crores compared to which the Seventh Five Year Plan stands at more than Rs, 1,50,000 crores it is anyway Rs. 1,80,000 crores. Now, I may humbly remind the House that it has been maintained the the Sixth Plan has failed in real terms by about 20 per cent. That is the assessment

[Shri Nirmal Chatterjee]

in the Seventh Plan. If we take Rs. 1,50,000 crores as the monetary achievement in terms of 1984-85 prices and if you add another 20 per cent or more which is the failure, this is the Sixth Plan estimate, we arrive very easily at Rs. 1,80,000 crores in real terms. Thus it means that the Seventh Plan is virtually not a step up at all compared to the Sixth Plan. Yet we are told that there is a resource crisis. There is a claim that the Sixth Plan has succeeded immensely in terms of growth. During this whole period the resource mobilisation in terms of tax revenue has declined. Despite the fact that it is claimed that the growth rate was nearly 5 per cent approximating 30 per cent over the Sixth Five Year Plan, the tax revenue collected as a percentage of GDP declined over the entire Sixth Five Year Plan. That bewilders me. Where lies the truth? After expanding in the course of the Sixth Five Year Plan and when the Seventh Five Year Plan is no higher than the Sixth Plan, why is the talk of resource crisis? I want an answer from the Finance Minister. And in answering, as I had pleaded earlier let him not use the argument of mixed economy. As I mentioned nowhere in the world is the economy homogeneous; in fact, I will go a step further. The mixed economy is an Imperialist bourgeois constrict and it is a lid which covers up and not a ladder which analyses. Therefore I enter his plea, let him not explain in terms of mixed economy. It is a cover to hide the fact that the economies are run on a class basis whether one intends it or not. It is a cover to hide the fact that basically ours is a capitalist economy, a landlord economy and not of any other character. It is not a question whether Prime Minister or Finance Minister himself is a bourgeois or not. The question is within the given framework, whatever he does, whatever he tries to do, ultimately it helps these classes. I was trying to find out the real size of the Seventh Plan. In terms of real resources also let us try to find out whether there is resource crisis or not. What are the real resources? Our real resources are—as per the yardstick in terms of nature—primarily land; the second kind of resource that we have got is the man-made capital goods; and the third which very endearingly the Finance Minister has said as our truest asset is the human being, the labour power. In terms of these three resources is there a crisis? And if there is one, of which type? Is it true that we are short of capital goods? I refer to the recent [ ] P.M. Report of the Sukhomoy Chakravarty Committee. He has given in the Report that during the last thirteen or fourteen or fifteen years in India, the real resource called industry, which embodies our capital goods, is working at capacities which are much below seventy or even sixty per cent. So, if there is a crisis of real resources, here is an explanation that we are unable to utilise our industries, our capital goods, which are there in the country on the basis of the toil of the millions of the country which remain unutilised. Let us now look at the land resources. Do we take as much or do we get as much or do we utilise as much as we can? We cannot and this is the admission of the Planning Commission and even in terms of the anti-poverty programmes, it has been admitted that unless land reforms are vigorously introduced, human productivity on land will not increase. This is one aspect of our real resources and this is the second aspect. Now, I need not dilate on the third aspect. Our human resources remain utterly unutilised: the unemployed and underemployed destitutes. So, even in terms of real resources, there is no crisis except in the sense that the socio-economic system and the capabilities of the Government are failing to utilise the capital goods on the one side, the land on the other and the tremendous skill of the

labour on the third. But why then the question again comes up in terms of resources? If there is no problem either in real monetary terms or in terms of real resources themselves, what then is the problem? What is happening to these resources and what does the Finance Bill do to that? It has been mentioned that it has been estimated—perhaps it is expected also—that in the Seventh Five Year Plan also, our economy will have a growth rate of nearly 25 per cent. If that is so, where does the additional income go? The rate of savings in the economy increase from 17 to 22 per cent in Sixth Plan. Despite this increase in the savings rate in the Sixth Plan, the tax revenue as a percentage of GDP came down. Now, for the Seventh Plan, the assumption is that the marginal rate of savings would be 28 per cent in order to let that 22 per cent rate of savings achieved at the end of the Sixth Plan to still higher levels. If that be so, even out of a further growth of 25 per cent of income, why should there be a resource crisis at all? That needs to be answered. Where are our resources flowing. The question as to where our resources flow and how they are flowing should have been our main concern in the past in discussing the Finance Bill. But, unfortunately, today, the Finance Bill is a minuscule representation of the efforts to mobilise resources for the public sector. As you all know, the Finance Bill mobilises not more than Rs. 500 crores this year. On the other hand outside the Finance Bill, the mobilisation *via* the Railways, *via* the hike in the administrative prices, etc. is of the range of about Rs. 2,000 crores. All this is known and all this has been mentioned in the Budget speeches also. But let me concentrate on the Finance Bill despite that. If the resources are mobilised just to maintain the level of development as was there in the Sixth Plan, I submit, Sir, that the pattern is eminently regressive despite all talk of amendment of the Constitution by the insertion of the word "socialism". Sir, I will not go to the expenditure side, even though we are discussing the Finance Bill. But in the totality, if we take hikes in prices, if we take the deficit, the deficit also is coming down as a percentage, I know. But add them up. You will discover that the burden of taxation, the pressure, is entirely on the vast masses, and not on those who are affluent and who provide savings. The Finance Minister— I *was reading it recently, not the Fi*nance Minister's speech but something else—the Finance Minister has said that our interest payments are rising. I was reminded from a journal of a beautiful quote. Who provides these funds for whom these interest payments are due? The famous author is of course Mr. J. R. HICKS. He quoted the example of the Roman Empire. He quoted the decline of some other empires of the past. And the characteristic feature that he located was that all these empires in their glory, when they started declining, their financial policy was very simple. The policy was: Borrow from the rich and tax the poor to pay the interest. This is what we are also arriving at. In a prophetic manner this gentleman of course suggested that the decline of empires begins with this kind of a *situation.*

**[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu)** in the Chair.]

I want to retrieve our Finance Minister from that decline. But, Sir, the Finance Bill, when it says—I will remind the Finance Minister—when it talks of resource crisis, the resource crisis is in relation to the public sector. All these resources are flowing to the private sector. Look at the Annual Report of the Finance Ministry where it has been said that the mobilisation in banks, the mobilisation in Life Insurance Corporations, mobilisation in the UTI, in all financial institutions, the rate of growth is very high—never coming

down below 15 and sometimes crossing 20 per cent. Where is it coming from? I submit, Sir, all this comes and goes to the private sector. What happens to the public sector. They depend on raising the prices, raising excise duties and raise in all other kinds of non-expenditure.

Sir, coming concretely to the Finance Bill, I mention one argument of the Finance Minister. It is amazing to me. The Finance Minister, when he eliminated the estate duty last year, what was the argument? The argument was that it collects very little. The collection in that year was Rs. 26 crores. How much is the Finance Minister proposing to collect additionally this year from the direct taxes. Not more than Rs. 21 crores, which figure is also doubted by experts because of various concessions made in direct taxes.

Sir, we could sacrifice Rs. 26 crores because it was estate duty. And we come back to say that there is a resource crisis, therefore we must get Rs. 21 crores from this years's Budget. Is there sanity in this? I don't understand. If there is resource crisis, if somebody is patriotic and answering that resource crisis, would he have behaved this manner? I am astounded. if there is a resource crisis, one tries to reduce expenditure. I have mentioned that in the Consultative Committee. Perhaps I should not utter that. That is the prerogative of the Prime Minister. But I mention it here in the House. Between 1984-85 and 1985-86, do you know the largest growth in expenditure took place, where? I will give you the figures. It is an astounding figure. The expenditure on the Council of Ministers was Rs. 3.34 crores in 1984-85. The budget estimate in 1985-86 was Rs. 5.34 crores. In fact it was 8.49 crores. Is it a regime of austerity? Is it the kind of response that the resource crisis calls for from us? Now, it is not only in this. Sometimes the Finance Minister tells us that non-essential imports should be curbed. One cannot agree more with him. But, is it a complete answer? The question still remains as any economist will point out, that if you do try to cut non-essential imports, it is welcome. When there is a resource crisis internally and you deploy your resources in producing some kind of non-essential goods, once again you are wasting your resources. The classical example is that of petroleum. Is it only necessary that we reduce imports of motor cars? Or is it also necessary that we redirect our resources not to produce motor cars? Till we arrive at the stage of communism, in our economy and in our perception, there will the a shortage of supply in terms of needs. Since there will be shortage, planning is required to deal with that shortage. Therefore, we have to consider where our resources would flow. So, it is a one-sided statement when it is said that non-essential imports should be curbed and that non-essential production within the country will not be curbed. It is in consistence with the approach of raising the revenue of the Council of Ministers. It is this which also vitiates the approach of Finance Bill. I mentioned it in the case of the Estate Duty. I demand once again that Estate Duty must be re-imposed in the economy. Properly handled, the Estate Duty can give much more than 26 crores. I do not wish death. I know that the expectation of life has increased. I want death to corruption. If the Finance Minister is sure of his improved machinery we can get much more than 26 crores in the course of a year.

The Finance Minister says that the Gift Tax has been made progressive. I question that statement. In fact the Gift Tax has been made regressive for the simple reason that the progressive aspects have been entirely consumed by the fact of dis-aggregation of the gifts of previous five years. Previously, the last five years were aggregated and taxes were levied on that basis. That aggregation...

SHRI JAGDISH DESAI: It is 30 per cent now.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I have calculated for five years. If you want the calculation, I can give you. But I do not want to waste my time. I have calculated and was surprised to discover that the Gift Tax, as it is... ..

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: The time of Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee should be aggregated.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: When I die, please do that. So, I have already mentioned during my budget speech about the ratio of direct tax collection. I just mention this because the Finance Minister say that direct tax collection is going up. As a percentage of GDP, even this budget is less and more importantly, I mentioned it at the time of my budget speech that direct taxes, as a proportion of total tax revenue continue to decline. It has been pointed out...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): No.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Not sure.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am going to refer to the figures.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You refer to them when speak. Sir, I am asserting that the direct tax as a percentage of total tax collections continues to decline, and the Budget for 1986-87 Implies a further decline. You remember the two figures of Rs. 21 crores and Rs. 500 crores. For Mr. Salve, I mentioned those two figures.

Sir, I come now to the concessions. Sir, the Finance Minister, even in today's speech mentioned about certain concessions. He has already conceded in the Budget on another line. I have mentioned that elsewhere that previously there was a provision that in any land transaction which shows a value which is less than 15 per cent of what it should be that land would be taken over by the State. This has been modified. Now it is being said as a modification that land transactions which are of only more than Rs. 10 lakh will come under the purview of this kind of action, the Government would have a pre-emptive right to buy that at the stated price. Hence forward, Sir, India will become poor. No land will sell at more than Rupees 10 lakhs. Every single bit of land now will be sold at less than that. Even about the Goverment land, Sir, we know that there is a legal case in Bombay where the plant and machinery were offered to the Government of course, by one Department to another, at a price of more than Rs. 10 lakhs. It was sold to a private party at only Rs. 1,60,000. This happened. And, therefore, the inability, the worthlessness of the administrative machinery has been used as an argument to state that only those people whose land or property transaction is not less than Rs. 10 lakhs will be caught. My humble plea would be that if this is a revenue-earning proposition, why not employ more people? You have imposed a ban. Why? I am opposed to that ban as such, more so in a revenue-earning Department. If you calculate the expenditure at 1.5 per cent or 2 per cent on the cost of collection, you can employ more people there. Tax these thieves. And do not get satisfied only with the Kirloskars; go to the FICCIs which are controlled by the Birlas and the Modis. Sir, if you can do this, perhaps, there will be some justification or more justification in saying that this year's Budget at least is slightly better than the last Year's Budget.

Sir, I will just mention a few other things before I conclude. I insist that if you are serious in real terms, then do not give concessions to the 'baggage' brought from outside. Some Rs. 500 crores or Rs. 600 crores worth of imported baggages come here. Prohibit it if you can. That affects our foreign exchange. Sir, a few points for the employees also which I mentioned earlier and has

not been paid heed to. And let me repeat it before the House so that the other side also supports us. Frankly speaking, Sir, this is for the consideration of the Finance Minister. I have my own doubts whether it is at all justified to give concessions, as the Sukhmoy Chakraborty Report also indicated though not recommended, on certain kinds of approved securities in terms of tax concessions. Some Rs. 1200 crores can be earned, from say Rs. I lakh savings tax-free. Now, as you all know, and this is what I mean by the capitalist system, the more income you have got, the higher is the rate of return on this, i.e., who, don't pay taxes, don't get any benefit from that. If they save in those approved savings, they get only 10 per cent or 11 per cent or 12 per cent rate of return. But a Birla on those Rs. one lakh savings will get a return of 50 per cent tax plus 12 per cent interest, i.e., 62 per cent. I think that is what has been recommended in some quarters. It is much better to increase the rate of interest for all in the securities as well as in the Provident Funds etc.

And, Sir, for standard deductions, I should welcome the beautiful trick of the Finance Ministry to benefit only the salaried class. My hats off for this innovation. Think whether so much concession should have been given. I have a little reservation if the resource crisis point is justified.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): How many minutes more would you like to take?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: As many as you would give.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Take another five minutes.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I will speak up to 1.30 p.m. and then we will adjourn for lunch.

Sir, I have also suggested that there is a lacuna in the Bill about the returns on Provident Fund. Unfortunately, the Finance Minister agrees with everybody else outside but not with the Members when they speak in the Consultative Committee meetings. The argument was very simple. The provident fund scheme carries an interest of 12 per cent. In principle he gets his money increased at the rate of 12 per cent per annum compound. But there are Employees' Provident Fund Schemes and there they can invest 85 per cent of their money in certain approved securities, 15 per cent compulsorily on Government securities, so that their net rate of return is less than 12 per cent and they undergo an expenditure so that they can declare an interest for individuals at a rate which is less than 12 per cent. The Finance Minister in his generosity forgot to recognise this fact.

Sir, I may also mention the problem of house rent allowance. The house rent allowance for those who do not own a house is not taxed. The house rent allowance for those employees who have constructed houses is taxed and there is an inequity in that. If Rs. 1 lakh which was giving me a tax-free income of Rs. 12,000, I invest in building a House, I lose because I pay tax on the house rent allowance. I draw the attention of the Finance Minister if such minor corrections are possible.

Sir, I would also mention this other thing about the concessions to small-scale industry. We are making this point again and again. I will repeat one point and introduce a new point. The old point which I want to repeat is that, it is said a gift horse should not be looked in the mouth. But you have to look into the mouth of the small-scale sector. A small-scale sector is defined in terms of machinery or sales. It is not determined in terms of who own it. If Birlas indulge in small-scale sector, all the benefits flow to the Birlas. Is it the

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intention of the Finance Minister, in the name of the small scale sector to help these MRTP companies? So, the question of ownership is absolutely important. And the Finance Ministers are failing again and again over the last so many years despite recommendations from the Public Accounts Committee.

The other point is about the small scale sector, that I would like to put is that what for is a small scale sector welcome? It is welcome for employment potential. It is assumed that the capital-labour ratio in the small scale sector is lower than in an integrated still factory. It is the capital-labour ratio which should define the small-scale sector. The scale has to be decided in terms of the capital-labour ratio, not in terms of total sales or capital goods as such. So what I propose is that in dealing with small-scale sector, take into account the factor of ownership; take into account the capital-labour ratio in a particular small-scale unit. Only on the basis of that, should the concessions be introduced for the small-scale sector.

Sir, in terms of direct taxation, the Finance Minister today also mentioned—should I use the expression that he is blowing hot and cold! On the one hand he says that the right to survey the residences is being withdrawn, and the next minute he is breathing hot saying that right to search remains. Is there any distinction between the two. There is; otherwise one should not have been withdrawn. The fact that it was introduced and withdrawn indicates susceptibility of the Ministry to the pressure of the big business in the country. Collections on direct taxes are high and you know, Sir, Kirloskar has been caught; I do not know if Mr. Madhavrao Scindia is also caught along with him. But that is a different matter and the Government will look into it; but to the extent it is limited and they will absorb this and they will feel that it goes thus far and not further, and to that extent, his weapon also will be blunted and to that extent, his collection will not come. We have mentioned in the Public Accounts Committee. That report is there that the cigarette industry takes money from the dealers; pays no interest on that and that is not treated as income of the cigarette industry, and that is not charged to direct taxes. Therefore, I say, there is plenty of scope in the collections of direct taxes and much more mobilisation of resources. If this does not happen, what is going to happen then? The resources would be continuously eroded. Take for example the fact that prices will be rising. The plans of the States and the Centre—the State plans particularly—are virtually scuttled because of rise in administered prices. I want to know from the hon. Minister the additional non-plan expenditure, and how much of it is due to rise in prices and how much of it due to labour and payment of dearness allowance. It is a vicious circle in which the Government's economic policies have led to. You raise the prices and you come and complain that non-developmental expenditure is eating it up. If you cannot stabilise the prices, if you cannot guarantee that there will be no price rise in the course of the next five years, your resources for the plans for the public sector are bound to suffer but the private sector will continue to prosper because it is they who benefit from the rise in prices. In this context I conclude by referring to matter of denial to the States and that is the question of consignment tax. It is the Centre which is responsible for raising prices and eroding resources of the States and the Finance Minister does not condescend to give it to the States which will generate some hundreds of crores of rupees for the States so that some how or other they manage to generate resources for their plans. Sir, my time is up. I thank you and I want the hon. Finance Minister to answer me in terms of what he thinks socialism is. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Mr. Salve.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, are we adjourning for lunch? In that case, I can as well start after lunch.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): You can just start and then continue after lunch.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Formality of starting.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to participate in this debate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Mr. Salve, you can continue after lunch. The House is now adjourned for lunch and will meet again at 2-30 p.m.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-one minutes past one of the clock.

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The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-two minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am indeed grateful for having given me this opportunity to participate in this very important debate on the Finance Bill. Unfortunately, the speaker who preceded me has not taken his seat as yet, but I heard his speech very carefully and with rapt attention. He has made a few points. I do not know to what extent they need any consideration or reply. At any rate, it is the Finance Minister who has made copious note about what was being said and it is for him to decide which are the points which he should reply to. There are, however, factual errors which he committed. I think the record must be set right to correct those factual errors. *Inter alia* he made a statement that in 1985-86 the percentage of the direct taxes has declined (*Interruptions*). I am glad the hon. Member who preceded me is back here. In fact, I want to compliment him. No matter what he said, it was an erudite speech. He is an able man, about that there is no doubt.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: But I do not represent the private sector. If you do...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE. And also, Sir, those who have known him, those who have met him when he is not speaking, would know that he is the finest gentleman one would have ever met. But that does not improve the quality of the speech that he has made. I want him to check up one of the factual errors. He has said that in 1985-86 the ratio of direct taxes to the overall revenue collection has declined as compared to 1984-85. In 1984-85 the aggregate collection, the total collection of taxes was Rs. 22,676 crores and direct taxes was Rs. 4,484 crores, the percentage comes to 19.77. In the year 1985-86 the total taxes collected aggregated to Rs. 27,731 crores and direct taxes collection aggregated to Rs. 5,550 crores, the percentage works out to 19.88. It has increased marginally only, but what is important is, in 1984-85 the growth has not been less in terms of proportion of aggregate revenue collection. And what is more, one important factor which he completely ignored was that the real increase in the growth is effected on account of Himalayan increase of nearly 32 per cent in the collection of customs duty and surely it is not his case that the customs duty is collected from the poor in any manner whatsoever. Anyway, Corporation tax increase has been to the tune of...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Ultimately it is passed on to the poor. Wherefrom it is collected ultimately? It is not a direct tax.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: If I understood him correctly, what he said was that the percentage of direct taxes to the total tax collections of 1985-86 is less than what it was in 1984-85. I have given the figures. I am reading these out from this book—"Budget at a Glance". Unless it is incorrect. What I am saying is a matter of calculation. If you have a calculator, you can calculate the percentages.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I have got the percentages done. Anyway you proceed. Percentage of collection—this is a very simple thing, Sir. Mr. Deputy Chairman, if you will permit me, he is a very good friend. I do not know whether he is as much a gentleman or

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not. The very fact that this year you are collecting 500 crores of rupees from indirect taxes and only Rs. 21 crores from direct taxes indicates that the shift is towards that in terms of additional resource mobilisation.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, that is his problem. He is shifting now. We all heard what he said. I interrupted him and he said, "no, the percentage is less". He is talking now of this. Anyway I will check up that also. The real problem with him is...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Even in total percentage I have got it done.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, I will not waste any more of my time, excepting that inter alia he said that the mixed economy, to which we are pledged here, is an imperialist bourgeois concept. It is a capitalistic and feudal system under which we are working. This is an allegation from him and his tribe. This allegation of our system being bourgeois and not taking care of the proletariat and the peasants I have been hearing for the last 20 years I have been in Parliament, except two years: one year when Mr. H. M. Patel presented the budget and another year when Ch. Charan Singh presented the budget. It was in those two years that the representatives of the Marxist Party paid the highest tributes, encomiums...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: They also worked under a bourgeois system. You cannot get rid of this system, whether it is you or those Opposition parties. And we did not support that budget.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, this is wisdom from the hindsight. When they were speaking on the budgets presented by them—please check up because I was then in Parliament, he was nowhere near the precincts of Parliament, and I know what exactly the Marxist people said; they bestowed the highest eulogies and when I was speaking on the budget I had told the Marxist people that their philosophy was at complete variance with what had been done by Mr. Patel and Ch. Charan Singh.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM (Tamil Nadu): He was very near the Parliament then. He was in Talkatora Road.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: The difficulty with my friend and his tribe is somewhat different. There is a basic difference. That basic difference arises on account of the fact that these people are a victim, I submit with great respect of a very rigid and fanatical political dogma and a very fanatical doctrinal concept which, unfortunately, they have imported from some foreign countries. And that too certain countries which they admire... (*Interruptions*) We also admire, but we do not owe allegiance to those countries at all. We want to harness the entire genius of the mixed economy. To us it is the very basis, very article of faith. It is an economy which has been given to us by Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru and by Indira Gandhi and we will abide by it. You may call it bourgeois.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: It is imperialist bourgeois.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): Sir, on a point of order . The hon. Member has said...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I hope all this will not be deducted from my time.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: This is what makes Parliament more purposeful and more meaningful.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: At least interesting.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: The hon. Member is casting aspersions on hon. Member Mr. Chatterjee by saying that he owed an allegiance to a foreign country. This is doubting the very motive of the hon. Member. This must be expunged. All of us have taken oath under the Constitution, the very Constitution under which they have taken the oath.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir,...

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: I am on a point of order. He should be asked to sit down.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Salve is clarifying his point.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Before he clarifies we should know what he is going to clarify.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: My party did not owe political allegiance to a foreign country. When this country was involved in the worst type of struggle against the British imperialism, they would have fought with us. I have not cited a set of people who were the symbol of imperialism. Having done that, If I say political allegiance...

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Mr. Chairman, he is substantiating his charges. May I tell him, personally I and many of us, all have been in 1942 in jails. We were as much patriotic as they were at that time and are also now. These wild allegations are these doubting our motives. We have taken the oath by the name of the Constitution, the same Constituion by which he took oath. I wuld, therefore, seek your protection. Whatever we may say having differences, but to say that we an allegiance to a foreign country is derogatory, and, therefore, it should be expunged.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not think that Mr. Salve has used a derogatory or unparliamentary termino'ogy. Nei her has he attributed any real motive to what he said. As I understood. Mr. Salve was trying to convey that the hon. Member who spoke first, was depending on some other ideology which is not Indian. That is the essence of it as I understood it, not the words, but the sence of it. No motive has been attributed.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: If he has said that he owed an allegiance to a foreign country, then, it should be expunged.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He did not say, 'allegiance to a foreign country.' I will check up the records and see whether it has been said.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I said that they owed political allegiance to a foreign philosophy.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Anyway, I shall look into the records, and if there are words...

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: With the same country his party has got political affiliations, I am here on record to point out.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I mean the philosophy of that country. Be that as it may, Sir, from the hind-sight also he cannot rewrite history. History is there to show who betrayed whom, at what time, who fought for the national struggle and who it is that who really fought the imperialists and sent the British back lock, stock and barrel. Be that as it may, Sir, we need not be told any more...

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Mr. Deputy Chairman, nearly 39 years have passed after the Independence. Those who were twenty years only, at least they could have thought about independence. They must be now 67 years. Nobody now has fought for freedom really. Nearly 38 years have passed after getting the Independence. Am I corecrt, from 1948? Persons who were 15, 16, were just thinking about freedom then. Now they should be at least 60 years. If any person who is under 60, considers that he had struggled for freedom, I would not believe it.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: The persons involved in this debate, Mishraji or myself, we have all crossed 60. Therefore, we have a right to discuss it.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: We are very much a part of it I am supporting you.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: We were all beaten up by the police. Despite our different lines, we were all beaten up by the police.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: That is right.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: In the 142 movement I was also involved.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: I was also beaten up. When I showed

my black flag to Jawaharlal Nehru, I was beaten up by the police in the year 1962.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is not the issue. Let us listen. (*Interruptions*).

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): I went to jail myself.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us listen to the hon. Member now.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I have only one request to make in 1976 when the history was written....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Prof. Lakshmanna is a Professor. So, he will have some role.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I do not want to waste my time on sheer trash any more. My submission is that my time be counted from now onwards. The Finance Bill has been presented by the Finance Minister in the background of what has been described as open budget strategy. So far, the Budget and the Finance Bill used to be shrouded invaginating in terms of total secrecy. This time, the secracy. which was built on a premise, a fundamental basis of the British rule that there were two classes of the people affected by the Budget and the Finance Bill—one the ruler and another the ruled—has been removed. Now the Budget is made on the premise that it is made by the representatives of the people, by the people and for the people. The secrecy was entirely an anachronism. It was a remnent of the last vestiges of the British system which has been evolved to pursue a colonial rule, which is completely out of date and out of place today. I am surprised that there should have been any criticism about this strategy of open budget. In fact, open budget strategy means only one thing. It means opportunity. You have a wider section of the people to discuss the matter. The Budget is meant for the people. Similarly, the Finance Bill is made for the people. As a result of that there is a dialogue which inevitably means involvement of the people in the same. It also means assimilation of more information; therefore, anything which makes the entire process of budget-making and the finance bill inflaxible, right and rigid, must be dispensed with lock, stock and barrel. I congratulate the Finance Minister for having boldly taken steps to make the entire strategy for Budget-making and finance bill open to the nation. The entire discussion is open during the process of formulation of the budget proposals.

Then Sir, there is a long-term fiscal policy. Normally, I would not have spoken on the long-term fiscal policy and its wholesomeness and its extremely judicious effect, but unfortunately, when the Budget debate was going on, there was a reference to the long-term fiscal policy and the validity of the long-term fiscal policy itself was sought to be assailed on the ground that the announcement of long-term fiscal policy undermines the importance and the authority of Parliament. One of a senior Members from my party himself raised this doubt about its validity. I want to submit that in terms of the long-term fiscal policy only advance information on the proposed fiscal measures are given. This information on the proposed fiscal measures is extremely indespensable and vital not only to optimise productivity of trade and industry and commerce in particular, but also for accelerating the overall economic growth.

So far as the question of validity of these proposals *vis-a-vis*. the authority of Parliament is concerned, I think distinction has not been drawn in terms of the fiscal policy and the enactment which is made in terms of the fiscal policy itself. Fiscal policy is a proposal by the Government before the nation. It is not more than that These are proposals for consideration to implement the larger

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economic strategy of the Government as such, but they only become law when they are passed by Parliament. Ultimately they become law only in the form as they are passed by the Parliament. Therefore, I submit that any criticism on the long-term fiscal policy, especially being assailed on the ground that it undermines the authority of Parliament is based on complete misappreciation and misconception of the entire intent, purpose and effect of the long-term fiscal policy. In fact, when you invite a nationwide debate, again the involvement of the people comes about in what you are going to present to the nation. Ultimately, the Budget is not only for the finance. It is the most vital and important instrument for the purposes of managing your economy as such. In fact, as a result of the long-term fiscal policy one would find that through the principle of informed public criticism, the proposals get refined and rationalised for the largest benefit, largest good of the largest number.

Now, I come to the rationalisation of the income tax rates. There was an implied criticism by the speaker who preceded me that unnecessary relief is being given to the rich—what was sought to be said last year when the raids were drastically cut was—this is a sell-out in favour of the rich at the cost of the poor. The prophets of doom who spoke on the rationalisation of raids predicted that as a result of this everything will be offered to the rich on a silver plate and so far as poor are concerned they will have to bear the burden of meeting the plan and non-plan expenditure. At that time, we tried to explain to these friends and we told them that there is a rationale nexus between the rational tax raids and the augmentation of the revenue. Sir, one thing which was discreetly avoided and what was argued last time has been absolutely belied, has been found to be utterly untenable invalid, in view of the performance. Sir, one would see that after rationalisation, reduction in rates of taxes, what the Finance Minister has collected in corporation taxes was Rs. 3,118 crores as against Rs. 2,556 crores collected in 1984-85. The growth was 22 per cent—massive jump in respect of income-tax collection to Rs. 2.397 crores from Rs. 1,928 crores, an augmentation of 24.3 per cent.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Rationalisation or relaxation in terms of such penalty clauses upto 31st March extended till 30th September this year. So the terms have the same things in common?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Having said that our entire system is capitalistic. Our entire system is highly bourgeois, it is foudalistic, why he is going into these details, why he condemns for all times to come and whatever we may do we come in for scathing indictment? The only budget proposals on which we did not have any scathing indictment were the budgets presented by Mr. H. M. Patel and Choudhary Charan Singh. But my respectful submission is—which we have done—has a word been spoken last time? How much verbiage was wasted in attacking the Finance Minister? Well he is much too strong to be waivered by this sort of thing. His integrity, his ability and his extremely strong attitude is now well-known. He just smiled and looked at everything what was said. But what happened last time? You criticised us for reducing rates of taxation and said it was a very unrealistic measure. Again today it was said that he does not know about 'unrealism'? I am unable to understand what that 'unrealism' has been. But here is a proof, the proof of pudding is in the eating. As for the number of rational taxations whether that makes a successful functioning of the tax system or not, in the augmentation of the tax collection, here are the figures as a result of which highest encomiums were bestowed and the Government must be congratulated for pursuing a very realistic and a pragmatic policy. It is no use

of having—as I said last time—high rate of taxation or Himalayan rate of taxation as an extremely populist measure to show that you are tremedously socialist or out and out socialist. You know collections are very meagre. Instead of having the highest rational rates of taxation we have greater interest in payment of taxes. People must realise that payment of taxes is more rewarding than avoidance of tax, if you want to work on the basis of volunatary compliance. That is our approach. We do not think that the authority of the State is above the will of the people. For us the will of the people is above everything else, even above the authority of the Parliament. Therefore, Sir,..

SHRI NIRMAL CHATERJEE: You leave it to the morality of the tax evadors.

SHRI N K. P. SALVE: There is a word called "MUNHZORI" in Hindi. I do not know the English translation.

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE (Maharashtra): He is known for that.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I do not know the English equivalent.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: You are not in a positon to translate it into English.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: You better learn Hindi so that you can translate it for us.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: I do not want to imagine that possibility.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, there were only two Finance Ministers with courage who could rationalise the rates of taxation against the forces of these populist measures. Every time it was inflicted on us, the moment we reduced the direct rates of taxation, they said it is sell-out to the rich. and it is all in favour of the rich, and we are working entirely for the betternment, amelioration and emancipation of the rich at the cost of the poor. There were two Finance Ministers who did it and the result was much better tax collection, far more efficient tax collection and it benefited the exchequer. The first Finance Minister who did it and who reduced the rate of taxation for the first time was late Smt. Indira Gandhi. Immediately the effect was the economy was galvanised, a very highly inflamed economy, stagnated economy as it was. Not only the economy waes galvanised but we had much better tax collections also. The second Finance Minister who had the courage and boldness to rationalise the rates was the Finance Minister now sitting as the Leader of this House and what he has done sir.. .... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: You aid tributes to the ex-Finance Minister also. In the same language, you are praising the present Finance Minister also. (*Interruption*).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, I need not interrupt Mr. Chatterjee when he was speaking I expect him to show the same courtesy to me also.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I am interrupting only very very courteously.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let it not be a running commentary.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, that nexus in growth of taxation and rationalisation is a very real nexus. It is a casual as would be seen. It is not only in India. Large many countries when they found themselves in difficulties in the economy and when they found that the tax collections were not adequate, they rationalised the rates and they found the results. An inter-national study conducted last year of 20 developing countries showed that the nations which levied lower rates of taxes, registered, without an exception a faster rate of growth than those with high taxation. Among

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the countries which cut the rates of direct taxes last year and this year are U.S.A., West Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Spain, Singapore, Thailand, Australia and Newzealand. It is not a philosophy which is only known to us. It is a philosophy practised all over the world and there is a real nexus, rationalisation of taxes and the growth of taxes.

In the Budget proposals to the Congress in May, 1985, the President of U.S.A. suggested 33 per cent corporate tax and maximum rate of 35 per cent of individual tax....Sir, I am very reluctantly referring to U.S.A. In all other matters, it is one country to which I should never like to utter its name. I would not like its name to bring on my tongue at all. But here is one measure that they have taken. But Australia cut the maximum personal tax from 60 per cent to 49 per cent; Singapore cut the maximum personal tax and corporate tax to 33 per cent. To be out of economic stagnation, Belgium cut corporate tax from 57 per cent to 45 per cent. All these countries, in the world of Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee are bourgeois countries, feudalistic countries, capitalist countries. These are the countries which according to him, must be thrown into the Atlantic Ocean but there is one more country which has done better than us in augmenting its taxes. Pakistan has done better than India. Its rate of corporate tax is 40 per cent. The maximum rate for individual is 45 per cent. Share-holders are not liable to pay any tax in respect of dividend income and gift tax had been totally abolished. When I happened to be in Pakistan in connection with the staging of the World Cup in 1987 October' November.. they were working on a scheme for tapping the maximum resources for their plan especially with reference to development of agriculture in that country and they had evolved certain disclosure schemes very realistic disclosure schemes and I was told that a small country like Pakistan were able to harness Rs. 1,000 crores for spending on their development in agriculture. Sir, our supposed disclosure schemes are rather shoddy and such disclosure schemes which leave plenty of scope of harassing of the people in the days to come and also corruption. I would, therefore, submit Sir to the Finance Minister, he is someone to whom we can look up for courage to really consider the possibility of harnessing maximum resources from the private sector into the Government exchequer. Sir, Rs. 5,000 crores were drawn

3 P.M. by the Stock Exchange At least on one point which Mr. Nirmal Chatterejee made, I am, to some extent, in agreement. He said, "There is plenty of savings in the country; why is not the Government harnessing the entire resources available in the private sector?" Five thousand crores of rupees spent in the stock exchanges is to the benefit of the speculators, racketeers and profiteers. Has a single step been taken by the Government to harness that amount of Rs. 5,000 crores at that particular time? How did that much of money come about? It was as a result of the rationalisation and the tremendous faith and confidence in the working of the Government and its policies, that large amounts of money came out in the open and were put in the banking channel. But unfortunately from there it flowed into the stock exchanges. If that money goes into the stock exchanges, it does not benefit the economy of the country in any manner whatsoever. It is a highly speculative activity. I do hope the Finance Minister will consider evolving schemes—not go by people who willy-nilly call us bourgeois, who willy-nilly call us feudliastic, who willy-nilly call us capitalistic — to ensure that we get the maximum resources so that our ambitious plans are put through, our ambitious schemes are put through and the private sector's savings are harnessed for purposes of the larger good of the community as such. There is nothing wrong, in my opinion, in going in for a properly made-out scheme in

the Act itself, which should always be there, so that a person coming forward and paying his taxes in accordance with what he is asked to do, when the rates are fairly rationalised, is given the entire immunity. Let people come to the path of rectitude, if they can, and pay you sufficient money to implement your programmes and plans.

A word is necessary about the overll economy as such. The overall performance of the economy has been extremely praiseworthy, very highly commendable. The inflation rate has not gone above 3.7 per cent, and despite all the prophets of doom who said that if we go above Rs. 3,000 crores of deficit financing, if the money supply, etc. is not kept under strict control, then inflation would run riot, nothing of the sort has happened. A very strict monitoring, a very vigilant monitoring and efficient management of the economy has restricted the inflation rate to 3.7 per cent. That is one indicator, the surest indicator of determining the quality of management of the economy as a whole. The industrial growth in 1985-86 has been 6.5 per cent. Agricultural growth has been 2 to 2.5 per cent. Our target of industrial growth in the Seventh Plan, on an average, is 8 per cent. If this is done, I have not the least doubt in my mind that we would have worked very substantially towards improving the standard of living of the people. Our real problem is something else, Sir. So far as its industrial growth is concerned, so far as its agricultural growth is concerned, India is not second to anyone. In fact, as it is, it stands at the top of all the developing countries. Our real problem is population. I do hope this Government will take solid, strong measures to ensure that the benefits of the prosperity that we are able to bring about as a result of larger and larger investments, do go to improving the living standard of every individual in the country. And that will never come about if we are going to neutralise all the benefits by increasing our population. Then we will continue to languish below the poverty-line; at least, a very substantial section of our people will continue to languish below the poverty-line.

A new approach has been taken about our economic policy system The new emerging economic policy system has been given by us nomenclature of 'new economic order'. It is an extremely important aspect of the matter because what is sought to be said is that the basic policy of this Government, its entire approach, has undergone a change, that its economic policy has undergone a change and what is being done by this Government is only by way of undoing what has been done by Pandit Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi. Nothing can be farther from truth. The new economic approach is one in which our basic economic policies and commitments remain utterly unchanged. The policy of economic development, keeping social justice and economic growth totally co-extensive, has remained absolutely unchanged. What can be said at best is that we are giving a new model, a new paradigm for purposes of streamlining the processes. We want the arrangements, the procedure, the entire *modus operandi*, dealing with the economy as such be so changed in respect of fiscal and monetary matters, in respect of trade and industry, that we are able to reap the maximum advantage of our policies. Sir, the salient features may be seen and then if we determine whether we have really shifted away from the basic economic philosophy and policy. we never have,we never did in the past, and to us, Sir, the concept of social justice has been as much important as that of economic growth. We do not want to sacrifice one for the other and it continues to be the same and, therefore, to be able to achieve better results, what are the salient features of the new model, of the new paradigm? Firstly, the Government wants to shed dircet respon-

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sibility for running a portion or portions of the economy by delegating, decentralising, autonomising, "discretionising and desubsidizing certain present and future commitments. Some people may say that the moment you delegate authority and the State is not kept all powerful over the heads of all, it means it is a bourgeoisie approach. If that is so, then it is entirely their own thinking. But the basic policy has not changed. Only the implementation and he *modus operandi* have changed. We do not want rules alone, but also discretion. We want efficiency and viability. We want consumer and owner accountability and we want speed in decisions. That is our touchstone. There are administered prices and controls and we want them to be replaced by market-determined directions and prices. We want a clear demarcating of the sphere earmarked for the State. We do want the private sector to know that there is a mixed economy We want the private sector to know what their area is and we want to give to ourselves what is our area, the area which is meant for the State. Then, about monopolies and guilds: We want promotion of competition, both internal and external. Today, Sir, I was delighted to learn of some of the very significant concessions which the Finance Minister has announced for the export industry. Today, this is extremely important because of the extremely heavy cost of the imports and, in the export-oriented industries, we are not able to compete in the international market. Our balance of payments position is rather precarious and is rather difficult and we need all the foreign exchange that we can get to improve our foreign exchange position so far as the balances of trade is concerned and unless we are going to make sure that our exports, the goods which are exported, are competitive, that our goods are such that we are able to meet the cut-throat competition in the world, it is futile to expect augmentation and improvement in the field of our export performance and towards that end whatever has been announced for export purposes, I welcome them fully.

I want to submit in the end that the cumulative effect of the steps which I have mentioned for the new economic order ultimately have to be constantly juxtaposed and they have to be collated with the anti-poverty programmes. It is not as if we take the steps and keep quiet. We have to see that all the plans under the anti-poverty programmes, poverty eradication programmes, these two, are juxtaposed and should be there side by side of each other and they will have to be constantly examined and then only it may be determined how best we are able to achieve social justice along with ensuring economic growth.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is enough now, I think.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, I have one important submission to make on one provision. I have got something to tell the Finance Minister and I will cut short the rest of my submissions.

Sir, the only thing that I want to submit is that there has been an allegation that the Budget is not growth-oriented and that it favours the highly organised sector in the corporate world. Now, Sir, my submission is that in this respect there were a few very salient and significant provisions originally in the Bill which the Finance Minister has gone back upon, giving undue benefit to the corporate sector. One is that he has taken a decision to delete section 80 M. Sir, Section 80 M of the Income-Tax Act, 1961, deals with inter-corporate dividends. The taxation of the inter-corporate dividends was at concessional rates. Dividends by any accounting concept, are an income in the hands of the recipient. If I receive it, it is my income and if a company which has invested in another company receives it, it is its income. There is no justification that so far as the corporate sector is concerned

part of it is to be exempted. But, Sir, in the organised sector in the FICCI, they made a terrible issue of it. I have no doubt in my mind that this Finance Minister is not going to yield to the lobby of FICCI. But it is one provision. I request him to re-consider and get rid of the exemption in respect of the inter-corporate dividend.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Salveji, there were problems with our UTI also, and they are getting affected.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: There will always be pros and cons. My respectful submission is, why not exempt an individual. Sir, partnership—you are a lawyer, you will know—in law is not recognised. In the income-tax, excepting where partnerships are registered, it is to be taxed. Sir, for the first time, a few years back, even the partnership was sought to be taxed, and today there is double taxation. Income of one lakh of rupees is subjected to tax at the rate of 22.8 per cent first in partnership, which is not an entity in law. Here is the corporate sector which, because of the very valid reasons he has given, perhaps is entitled to exemption. Sir, any justification, any moral justification for this? We have read in the newspapers today that to those who are going to evade tax no mercy will be shown. This strong attitude also pre-suppose this very strong attitude towards the tax evaders. It castes a burden on you. It is completely devoid of morality to have double taxation. Who are the professionals? It is the people who cannot go in for corporate sector and they work in the form of professionals—the doctors, small businessmen, etc. Why are they subjected to double taxation? No justification whatsoever. There is completely no justification for this, in my opinion. The small house-holders who have one house, self-occupied property, borrow money. Originally, the interest payment was sought to be deleted. You may keep on taxing the self-occupied property if there is any income at all. But a large amount of interest is paid on the borrowed money. The middle class people cannot afford to have their own money for this. A person who borrows one lakh of rupees constructs two rooms for his children to stay there; somehow there is a shelter above his head He has to pay the liability of interest on one lakh, which will come to Rs. 18,000. But only Rs. 5000 will be allowed and the rest he must pay out of his taxed salary. How unjust? How unfair?

Under 80-M, there is another thing that I want to put. Is it or is not correct that the interest which is paid on the purchase of shares acquired out of the borrowed money—if Rs. 10,000 worth of shares are purchased out of the borrowed money—interest is allowed fully plus 60 per cent dividend as exempt. They get double exemption. That is why, there is an allegation that the corporate sector, the organised sector, is getting away and is in a far better position.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is Socialism:

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, our approach is socialist. Our social justice concepts are clear. But there are sometimes a few provisions which do come in and which require appropriate consideration. We are entitled to mention this. This is how our party works. Not for a moment am I saying that the philosophy which is followed is incorrect. But there are certain provisions we must discuss. We can do it here and we can do it there. My respectful submission, therefore, is that you please give incentive for construction activities. I would request the Finance Minister to consider whether or not construction activities are extremely important for the purpose of economic growth for accelerating the economic growth of the country.

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There is always a boom in the industries which are supplying materials for construction purposes and that, in fact, manifests itself in bringing about an overall improvement and betterment of the economy. Why do we look down upon the construction activity? I have no doubt in my mind that a large number of people connected with the construction activities are a set of crooks and racketeers. I do not have any brief for them. Please don't think for a moment that I am pleading for the owners of the construction companies. I am only pleading for the activity as such. The construction activity in any country of the world is considered a commercial activity and an industrial activity of the highest and paramount importance which augurs so well for the betterment and the improvement of the economy and for accelerating the economy. If you want to help this particular activity, I would say that the laws which you are making regarding the immoveable property are very unpragmatic and very unrealistic. The laws which you are making put impediments and create disincentives. If you want to encourage the construction of one residential house by a middle-class man, what is needed to be done is that you allow 50 per cent of the construction cost of the House against his salaried income. Then you will find that the construction activity is coming up. Instead of that, the interest is sought to be allowed only to the extent of Rs. 5000/-. I will request you very seriously, in the interest of the poor sections of the society, in the interest of those who do need a shelter in the country and who do take up the courage to invest their hard-earned money into the construction of a building, a residential house, to treat them a little more charitably than what they are likely to be treated. Therefore, Sir, I suggest that so far as Section 80 M is concerned the inter-corporate on the dividends must be taxed in the hands of the companies. If they are not to be taxed in the hands of the companies, there is no justification of the dividend companies being taxed in the hands of the company which declares dividend. Secondly, I will request you to allow full interest on the self-occupied house or property, if that is the only house a person holds. Thirdly, you should allow 50 per cent of the construction of the House against his salaried income. You can allow it up to a maximum of Rs. 2 lakhs. Don't allow this 50 per cent to people who invest millions and crores of rupees on the construction of houses. Luxury is not to be subsidised by the Government. But certainly a poor man and an activity which is so salubrious, so healthy, for the growth of the economy, must be subsidised. I submit that he should be given 50 per cent deduction on the construction cost. The firm tax, under every circumstance, must be removed.

I come to the most important point in the Finance Bill and I would request you to bear with me. I want to make my submission in some detail. It relates to the right of preemption vested in the Government to purchase any property above Rs. 5 lakhs. A new chapter is sought to be inserted in the Income-Tax Act. It is a set of new section. Sections 269 U and 269 UO are sought to operate this particular scheme. It vests in the Government the pre-emptive right to purchae any property above 5 lakhs of rupees. Sir, the scheme in substance is this. In this case, the definition of immoveable property has been very dangerously enhanced to mean shares, shares of a cooperative society, shares in a company which owns immoveable property as such. It is a very dangerous expansion of the entire ambit of the definition of property which is covered by the scheme. Any property above 5 lakhs of rupees anywhere in the world from Kashmir to Cape Comorin or from Goa to Guwahati, if it is to be transferred, then in a prescribed form, an agreement, what we call in the legal fargon, to transfer has to be presented before an appropriate authority. This is to be done three months be-

fore the date you want to transfer. That means you cannot transfer any property tomorrow even though it is yours, even if you are an honest tax payer, even if you want to transfer the property today. If you decide to sell a property today, i.e the 5th of May, 1986, you cannot do it before the 5th of August, 1986. So, you will have to put an application in the prescribed form. That application itself has to be an agreement to transfer, equivalent to an agreement to sell. Thereafter, the appropriate authority, within a period of two months, can make a order under Section 269 UD purchasing the property. They have, of course, to record reasons for making the order of purchase. And the moment that order is made, the entire property vests in the Government without the payment having been made. The reasons are not justiciable. The order is not justiciable. It is like the 11th Command of the God. I am surprised, Sir, I have never seen an enactment in the income-tax law or any other law in which an order of an authority is the ultimate order, not appealable anywhere for anything. Are they human beings or are they human robots? Are they not capable of making errors or capable of making mistakes? Or is it a decree of the Lord Almighty, this is the 11th Command and it is not justiciable? No appeal lies. The order is final. And that is the end of the matter. Sir, the property vests in the Government without any encumbrance. If a tenant has been living there, the encumbrance of tenancy is not there. I am not talking of creation of a bogus tenancy. I am living in a rented house in Nagpur for the last 30 years. Now tomorrow that landlord wants to sell it to somebody else and it is found that the appropriate authority thinks no, no, that is not good, then they must acquire the property. Then the property vests in the Government. And the moment it vests in Government, I am to be kicked out. And for purposes of kicking me out, kicking a *bonafied* tenant out, it is provided that they will use force. Property vests without payment. Property is to be taken in the shape of a vacant possession. The people in possession, even if they are tenants, have to be kicked out immediately. Sir, that is what that happens. Now, Sir, see this: Payment has to be made within one month from the end of the month when the order is made not immediately when the property vests. And the value is the one which is mentioned in the apparent consideration. This is what happens, Sir. What is more surprising is that if the payment is not made in time from the date of the order under Section 269 UD, what happens? The order made under Section 269 UD is abrogated and the property vests in the transferor again. And if he again wants to sell, he has to go through the same procedure. Sir, what a practical joke the bureaucrats have made of this sort of a provision! You don't pay him. Property vests in the Government. The *bonafide* tenant is evicted; the small tenant is evicted. You take the control of the property. And then you don't make the payment. Nothing happens. You are back to the status *quo ante*. There is absolutely all the authority in the world without even a grain of responsibility. On the super powers constituted by the appropriate authority, there is no appeal. And then, Sir, what hapens, as I said earlier, if there is a co-operative society to come up of which I am also a member of the co-operative society and you are also a member of the co-operative society and if the value is more than Rs. 5 lakhs? After the law comes into operation, if you are going to construct a house for a co-operative society, you have to go before the appropriate authority. And if this appropriate authority thinks, no, I don't like the face of the people in the co-operative society they will acquire it. Sir, this entire authority, the entire power which has been vested, I submit, is entirely arbitrary, it is unregulated, it is unbridled and it is unregulated. And it

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is for that reason alone. It has nothing to do with evasion. Two honest people are there. And I hope the Minister will reply to this proposition of mine.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: It is better not to be a member of the co-operative society.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: It is a serious matter. Sir, I would crave the indulgence of the House. . . (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt him. He has already taken more time.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I want him to have full rights, I want the Government to have full authority to acquire any property in which there is even one rupee worth of dishonesty. If there is any tax evasion element, please go ahead with that. But if an honest buyer 'a' wants to sell his property to an honest buyer 'b' and there is no element of tax evasion whatsoever is there any justification? *Interruption*). Sir, what is provided is Rs. 50 crores. And I am told in Bombay itself, in one week, the registration before the Registrar is to a tune of Rs. 100 crores. Now, is it not entirely arbitrary that property 'A' they will acquire and property 'B' they will not acquie? Two co-operative societies, similarly situated, under similar circumstances, they will acqure one and they will not acquire the other. It is completely violative *intr-alia* of article 25. And I have no doubt that this sort of provision will not come about. But, Sir, I have to point out something more serious. And, something more-serious. is this that in the long-term fiscal policy of the Finance Minister it has been said like this. I am reading from paragraph 5.29. When this major came what was the approach and at what tremendous variance are the provisions. The discrepancy is so much. I would also read out the Budget speech and, in fact, there is substantial discrepency in the Budget speech and in the provisions of the Bill. It has surprised me completely. In fact, if an opposition Member moved a breach of privilege motion, it could be through. But so far as the bona *fides* of this Finance Minister arI concerned, nobody will ever challenge them. In the long-term fiscal policy see your intent, which comes here, and see the actual provisions. I would like the Finance Minister to clarify all the points that I have mentioned and say that these are not correct. If he does not challenge any of the ponits which I have mentioned, which constitute the scheme, I will take it that the entire points which I have enumerated are correct. Paragraph 5.29 says: As a measure of countering evasion, the Income-tax Act empowers the Govrenment to acquire an immovable property on its sale, transfer, if the consideration recorded in the transfer died is foun dto be less then its estimated fair market value by more than a specified margin. These provisions have not proved to be effective and have thrown open other ways in which tax-payers would be able to alter the value of their property. Then 5.30 says that one way of tcakling this problem—which problem—the problem of tax evasion, in the scheme there is no mention of tax evasion, the scheme is naturally unrelated to tax evasion, one of tackling tax evasion is to confer on the Government the pre-emptive right to acquire any immovable property undergoing a transfer for a consideration at a value 15 per cent above the price or consideration stated in the transfer deed. He has got rid of this 15 per cent. He may have good reasons for this. Secondly, the scope of such a provisoin may be limited to metropolitan towns. It is not restricted to metropolitan towns,

whole of India. There are two small villages in P. V. Rao's constituency, workers sometimes used to say that there are two small villages Makkardhokra and Dhabewada. If the land to sold is in Makkardhokra or Dhabewada even that must go to hte proper authority. And if one is being sold in the Adivasi area, even that also must go. Now the scope is not confined to metropolitan towns and property worth more than Rs. 10 lakhs is to be covered. Here it is said that property worth more than Rs. 5 lakhs is to be covered. To be fair selection will have to be based on a system of random sampling. Furthermore, the Government will be required to make full payment for any property notified for acquisition within 30 days of such notification. It is not to be paid within thirty days of the notification. (*Time bell rings.*)

..[**The Vice-Chairman (Shri M. P. Kaushik) in the Chair**].

Sir, what is more serious is that what the Finance Minister has stated in his Budget Speech is at variance with the provisions of the Finance Bill, which was presented simultaneously. Sir, this is what the Finance Minister has said in paragraph 99 of Part B of his speech. In line with the Long Term Fiscal Policy another major step being taken is to empower the Government with a pre-emptive right to purchase properties which are offered....." firstly it is not in terms with the long term fiscal policy. Another major step taken is to empower the Governmen t that a pre-emptive right to purchase property which is offered for sale in the market at a price agreed by the transferer. To begin with, this provision will apply to properties valued at over Rs. 10 lakhs located in metropolitan cities. An honest seller, wherever he may be, will not be hurt by this measure. For the rest, it is between them and the Income-tax Department and the God. Sir, briefly, it is this that if the transaction is honest, a seller and buyer will not be hurt. This is not provided anywhere in the law. If there is no evidence of any evasion of the law, even then the property will be taken. Therefore, Sir, at least in the Budget speech, one could have been more accurate and precise. I submit to the Finance Minister, I implore of him that this provision is extremely dangerous. Please do not issue a notification of this scheme until you have yourself satisfied and gone into every detail of this scheme and satisfied yourself that this sort of a scheme in that field can be worked satisfactorily in the interest of the country and the people. And at any rate, please provide for damages for loss to the person for non-payment of moneys due to him after the property has vested in the Government. This will lead any amount of litigation and will lead to any amount of problems.

The only other point is about investment with reference to investment deposit scheme. This again I had hinted earlier in the meeting of the Consultative Committee that this is coming as a *bonanza* to orgaised sector. It will convert India into a tax given. I am giving certain figures and I want the Finance Minister to tell me whether my figures and my calculations are correct. A company makes a profit of one crore of rupees; it makes no deposits whatsoever in the accounting year ending 1986-87 On the last date, it shows purchase of machniery of the value of Rs. 20 lakhs. No deposit is made in IDBI or in any financial isntitution. Profits are shown and an entry passed at the end of the year by whch profit and loss account is debited and investment deposit account is credited. What happens For 1986-87, the deduction which this company will get is Rs. 20 lakhs plus 50 per cent depreciation, that is, Rs. 30 lakhs. That means, in the assessment year 1987-88, against purchase of machinery of the value of Rs. 20 lakhs, they will get a deduction of Rs. 30 lakhs; in the

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next assessment year another Rs. 10 lakhs. That means, they will get a total deduction of Rs. 40 lakhs. So, in two years' time, you get a deduction of Rs. 40 lakhs on a purchase of Rs. 20 lakhs worth of machinery! If my calculation is correct and if my approach is correct, and if that is possible, I would like to ask the Finance Minister whether it is not bartering away for too much interest of the Exchequer in favour of the organised sector, in favour of corporate sector. A poor man will not be able to reach all these benefits; only companies that make huge profits could come out with this and there will be a massive tax avoidance. Zero-tax companies can come to any extent. It does not happen in any other country that total deduction in respect of purchase of machinery is much more than the cost of the machinery itself. It is two or three times the cost of the machinery. And why is it coming about. It is because of the basic fundamental error of principle in the scheme that deduction is relatable not to the cost of machinery but to the profits you earn. You are giving deductions on machinery purchased unrelated to the cost of the machinery but related to profits. I request the Minister; he has already taken extremely significant and wholesome judicious step in giving accelerated depreciation, that is, there are only two rates of depreciation from 1987 that he is giving, 33-1/2 per cent and 50 per cent. Let him give accelerated depreciation of 100 per cent in the year of purchase and no more and this is what the assessee would get, whether he is a poor assessee or a middle-class assessee or making profit or not. This sort of premium of deduction on purchase of machinery under this scheme is peculiar only to this country. There is no other country where this sort of bonanza is available to anyone. Kindly do not convert this country into a tax haven for those who get the best legal advice and become an absolute curse for those who cannot get this advice.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: You should have pointed this out.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am pointing it out to the hon. Minister; he has an open mind; his approach is judicious and I am pleading with him to look into this matter.

Last point now. It is being said that large rewards are given to officers who go about searching houses of people, in the Customs and Income Tax Department. I do not know to what extent this reward to officers is justified. Ours is not a banana republic; we are a strong true democracy. Our bureaucracy is governed and is accountable to Parliament. This sort of settlement of account between the department and the officers is not proper. What is the meaning of this? What are they paid for? What is their job? They are supposed to detect tax evasion and detect smuggling of contraband goods. If this sort of rewards are to be given, what are they paid salaries for? Are we not, by this legalising corruption? Are we not regularising harassment of the people?

The more important points which arise for consideration are: what is the department's accountability to Parliament? Under what head, such payments are made? What is the authority of Parliament over this sort of payment? I have not the least doubt in my mind that the Finance Minister will look into the various sugestions which I have made. Sir, the Finance Minister is very able. I have no doubt that the economy will move, will continue to move under his able guidance and his management of the economy. But I have one suggestion. While we are not prepared—we should not—to give any quarter whatsoever to tax evaders, please do not talk in a language which will show that you are unleashing terror. When you are seeking voluntary compliance by the people, a certain degree of restraint on the part of the officers of the department is necessary. They should not give out any threat against anybody. If you find

somebody has committed an offence, surely, you can proceed against him. If somebody commits a mistake, book him, take him, send him to jail, because tax evasion is an anti-national offence, it is an anti-social offence. But no means should be adopted which is either immoral or illegal for purposes of detecting tax evasion, or, for purposes of finding out what is called the tax offence of the people. You should act strictly in accordance with law, because not to do so, for any reason whatsoever, is only minimising the authority of the law as such and the due process of the Constitution. I do hope, the hon Finance Minister will give consideration to the various suggestions I have made. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. M. P. KAUSHIK): Shri Chaturanan Mishra.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Sir, I have to speak. There is a certain procedure and convention. It cannot be overlooked.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Sir, the debate was initiated by Shri Nirmal Chatterjee. Then, it was the turn of Congress (I). Now, it has to be from the AIADMK.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): The hon. Member has requested me. If you do not mind.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: We mind.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M P. KAUSHIK): All right.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill, 1986. We have a Finance Minister who has an open mind and who is receptive to fresh ideals No Finance Minister can be both successful and popular, but given the background of trying to manage a very large economy like ours, with all its limitations such as the resource constraint and also the socio-economic objectives, which is based on objective ideology and party policies, I think, Mr. V. P. Singh deserves *kudos* for doing the balancing trick very well. Apart from the high integrity for which he is known, the fact that he does not have any sort of prejudice is reflected by the new system of open budgeting exercise, which he has started just before this Budget. Apart from the fact that he has no lobbies, or collusion with any of the big business houses, the very fact that a continuous dialogue has been set in motion of discussing what is going to happen in the Budget, what are the requirements of the Budget, is itself sufficient proof that he has absolutely no prejudice except the growth and stability of the economy. Sir, I do not want to repeat because I am, myself, starved of time. I will come down to brasstacks. The inflation rate has been brought down. The income growth rate is 5 per cent, out put of foodgrains will increase by 3 per cent, industrial growth rate 6 8 per cent and the overall growth rate 4.4 per cent. I think, if the statistics we are having now are any indication, we are proceeding on the right lines. But there is one thing which one has to keep in mind. The Central Government, given its national priorities, has got to face the problems which arise between the Centre and the States. Sir, as you know very well, ours is a Constitution which is a combination of both the federal structure and the unitary features. This was well settled by the Supreme Court in the famous case of Satpal *versus* State of Punjab. But, Sir, as our State Government has represented before the Sarkaria Commission—why I am bringing in this thing in the Finance Bill is because this is going to be the important thing of the future as to who is to manage the finances and how the resources are to be shared between the Centre and the States—I am of the view, my party is of the view and the Government of Tamil Nadu has also clearly enunciated this view that India which is a true federation, the Central Government, I quote, and the State Gov-

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ernment should be equal and independent partners where the residuary legislative powers including the taxing power, I underline the residuary taxing power, will vest in the State Government and the Centre should hve only limited powers for foreign relations, defence, customs, currency, Union Public Service Commission, citizenship, etc. Sir, we stand for the integrity and unity of India. While we ask for more financial powers for State let nobody mistake us that we are for weakening the unity or strength of the country. As Professor Whare, the famous authority on federal structure said, ours should be a country which indicates all these features and where the autonomy both in the legislative as well as financial and administrative spheres should be granted for the States.

Sir, under article 280 the Finance Commission is to be constituted and the recommendations on the President are not binding. Here is where the actual crux comes. The Finance Minister was good enough to convert the overdraft standing against various States into medium-term loans on a particular day but what about well managed States, like Tamil Nadu? We do not have a large overdraft like other States? Why should we be the sufferers? That is why we have demanded that a committee of experts should go into the entire issue relating to the indebtedness of States and see that well-managed States do not suffer.

Now I come to a more important point and that is about fiscal federalism. I do not want to go here into a lecture on the various issues of fiscal federalism, adequacy of the resources between the Centre and the States or other matters relating to the guarantee of freedom for trade, etc. But I would like here on this occasion to take this opportunity to say that one vital aspect of fiscal federalism, namely, reducing regional imbalance and disparities should be brought to the minimum. Why I say this is, as far as our State is concerned—I am saying from the past experience—from 1974-75 to 1980-81 the per capita income has been more or less stagnant for a State like Tamil Nadu and on the other hand for a State like Punjab the per capita income rose from 150 to 200 per cent and in the case of Haryana from 140 to 165 per cent. Even for a backward State like Uttar Pradesh from where Mr. V. P. Singh comes the ratio increased from 70 per cent to 80 per cent. Sir, I just want to illustrate that the existing system does not have the potential to rectify the measures which will definitely result in regional imbalances. The worst sufferers in these cases would be the middle income States like Tamil Nadu. While I have no objection to States like Punjab and Haryana improving, the point is that the States which are definitely having a better per capita income will stand to gain more but regional imbalance and disparities will only be strengthened further. That is why, Sir, I would very much plead that a full-fledged committee should go into the entire gamut of the financial powers for States.

While on the subject, I would like to say that excise duty must be made compulsorily sharable between the States and the Centre.

And also in the case of the Corporation tax as well as surcharge in Income Tax, they should be made shareable between the Centre and the States.

I would now like to come to a very important point, namely, the public sector in this country. Mr. friend, Mr. Jagesh Desai will not agree with me when I say that the total amount employed in the public sector in the country, according to the statistics of the Government itself, is about Rs. 36,390 crores and the total investment in the public sector in the last year was Rs. 42,811 crores and the return is less than Rs. 929 crores, or hardly 4.6 per cent.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: I shall clarify this.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: You can clarify when you speak. I have gone into this thoroughly because you are disputing it always.

Now I come to the important point. I am very glad that our Prime Minister, the Finance Minister, the Industry Minister—all of them—have been time and again expressing their concern about the working of the public sector. But I am very sorry to say that there has been more sound than fury as regards this. In this year of the Seventh Plan, the public sector will have to find Rs. 31,500 crores by way of internal resources. Mr Salve was just mentioning how is it that the private sector is able to muster much more than the public sector in spite of the concessions which the Finance Minister has extended. He has given tax concessions on some of the bonds if invested in public sector. But with an investment of something like Rs. 180,000 crores in the public sector, I do not really know whether the public sector will rise to the occasion. There is definitely a case for somebody going into the public sector companies About ten such companies are there which account for a total loss of about Rs. 347 crores. And it is not as if the answer is difficult to find. The usual answers of capital overrun, about technological inferiority of the public sector or about over-manning or about social overheads—all these are well known. The point is, having identified the reasons, why is the public sector not doing well, particularly the sick children of the public sector like Coal India, Steel Authority of India? Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee will not agree with me but there is definitely a case of over-manning. The public sector should not be a charity institution which is there for the public of India. There should be something called an economic objective and the maximisation of the returns and profits on the public sector should be viewed in comparison with those of the private sector. I am not suggesting for a minute that there should be privatisation of the public sector, but definitely there is scope. There is the BPE. When the Bureau of Public Enterprises brings out Annual Reports so efficiently and has got several Departments, I was very surprised that there was recently a proposal under the consideration of the Government that the BPE is to be wound up. I wish the Finance Minster would clarify this. V. I. P. should clarify about BPE. The other point is that there should be adequate internal resources for the expansion of the public sector. At the same time the public sector should function efficiently and for the purposes for which it was made.

I now come to the balance of payment position which is quite alarming. The Commerce Minister has said that it is likely to go up to Rs. 9000 crores. If it is so, I do not really know how Mr. V P. Singh is going to balance his budget next year. But, Sir, closely linked with this is the question of devaluation. I hope Mr. V. P. Singh will take this opportunity to set at rest the rumours which are floating about in the market about the imminent devalaution of the Indian rupee. In the era of having exchange rates, devaluation really does not have any real significance except the political overtones and other things which are attached with it. But we have had only two devaluations so far—in 1949 and 1965—and the rupee being linked to a basket of foreign currencies has automatically got devalued. But the point why I am raising it here is this. There is a phrase in the World Bank Report which is likely to have sinister connotation if one goes carefully into it. What the World Bank Report says is that there should be changes in the exchange-rate policy for boosting exports. This is the phraseology used in the World Bank Report. I do not understand what else this can mean but suggesting to the Government of India that you should devalue the rupee so that this will be a short-term measure for increasing exports. But then you should not forget that imports will

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also become costlier, and with your present liberalisation of imports you are really going to be in trouble. Therefore, I would very much request the Finance Minister on this occasion to see that there is no question of devaluation of the rupee and that he should say so categorically.

Now I come to a news item which I saw only this morning, which has been given by no less a person than the Chairman of the Central Board of Customs and Central Excise, Mr. Dutta. I know him. He is a very honest and dynamic man. But he has said that the S.T. and octroi may come under MODVAT. Sir, it is very good that the Finance Minister has listened to the industry and introduced this MODVAT scheme and during these last two months most of the problems associated with MODVAT have also been sorted out. But this is really alarming if the Union Government, already having encroached upon the resources of the States, goes one step further and includes sales-tax and octroi which are fully within the purview of the States and brings them under the Central Government.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: To clarify it immediately, it does not come into the domain of the States at all. I wanted to dispel it immediately.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: But the point is that the sales-tax is the only elastic, buoyant income which is there for the States, and if it is going to be introduced under the MODVAT scheme, the collection will become that of the Centre.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: MODVAT is really a set-off process. The realisation is of the State, and there is nothing at all to be derived from there. It is a question of set-off. We are giving set-off.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Does it indicate that you are not going to touch the sales-tax?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: No, no.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: I am very happy that you clarified it. This news item gives a misleading impression. I am very happy for the clarification that you have made.

I am concluding by only referring to one or two points about the direct taxes which have been made by the Speakers here. Sir, the power of the Income-tax authorities to collect prescribed information for the purposes of survey will be restricted to business premises only. This is the modification which the Finance Minister has made, and it is really welcome. Sir, the powers which were originally contemplated were that any Inspector could go either to the business or to the residential premises and collect information. And people like Palkhiwala and others expressed a genuine fear that the Income-tax Inspectors being petty officials, were likely to misuse and harass. It is really good that Mr. V. P. Singh has come forward and amended it. This does not mean that the power of seizure or search is not there. This has also been clarified by him. But then my good friends like Prof. Nirmal Chatterjee and also Mr. Salve are misunderstanding this to think that this is a sort of exemption to people to have any amount of tax or ill-gotton money in houses. Far from it. But on this occasion I would like to ask the Finance Minister, while there is absolutely no doubt about his going after big fish, however high and mighty they may be, the point is, after the tax raids based on sufficient information how much tax is collected. This is a very important thing which he has to monitor and scrutinise carefully because after most of the tax-raids, whether it is Kirloskar or anybody else for that matter, once the thing happens, they follow up, there are several stages, there are several courts in between, and the follow-up in real terms.....

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH (Gujarat): It becomes disputable.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Then attendant publicity and other dangers are there. Therefore, I would

request the Finance Minister to keep a close watch on the amount of revenue collected from tax raids.

Finally, Sir, I would like to ask the Finance Minister to go into the point of industrial sickness. More than 92,442 undertakings in this country are sick, locking up more than Rs. 4,000 crores according to the RBI statistics in terms of finance. The industrial sickness has almost become a continuous thing. I would request the Finance Minister to pay very careful attention to this because at a time when we are lacking in resources so much, we definitely want every pie that we can spare. Therefore, this is not just an ordinary matter. I would request him, very carefully to go into this matter.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I do not want to discuss merits or demerits of the open budgeting. I feel that the budget is an instrument of the ruling party to give effect to its economic, financial and political thinking. If during the discussions with other interests, the Finance Minister feels that it is in accordance with the policy of the ruling party and its economic thinking, then we must accept it.

Budget is an instrument to fulfil the pledges given to the people at the time of the election. There is nothing wrong to discuss it with an interest, but if there is a conflict between what is good for the people and what is bad for the people, then the Finance Minister always must have before his eyes the poorest man of the country and that his proposals should be able to wipe out the tears of the people. This is what I feel is the object of the discussion on the Budget.

I do not want to jump to the conclusion whether there is buoyancy in the tax collection because of reduction in the rate of taxation because I believe in facts and figures before coming to any conclusion.

Even at present we have not got full details about the sources of personal tax collections. It may be because some persons out of fear generated by the strict implementation of the tax laws by the Finance Minister might have declared their past income and the collection may be from that source. So, till the data as to what extent the personal tax collections are on account of earlier year's assessment or the revised assessment or advance tax is made available, we cannot come to the conclusion. One thing is certain that the Finance Minister has made an impact on the minds of the assessees that if they evade income-tax they will have to pay a very heavy price. That is perhaps the reason why the assessees are making use of the relaxation. But whatever it is, a definite conclusion can be drawn only on the basis of the facts and figures.

The Finance Minister yesterday rightly said in the meeting with the Commissioners of Income-tax that many people who ought to have paid tax, are not paying taxes, many who have to pay more are not paying more. But there is another third category also. Many people want to pay less taxes by dividing their income and wealth. This has to be curbed now I feel that substantial amounts do not go into coffers of the Government because people divide their income by floating bogus firms, by making spouse, minor children as HUF partners. That is how they are dividing their income and pay lesser rate of taxation. That is where you have to make a thrust. I am sure that, as you have promised, will 4.00 P.M. plug the loopholes with the new code of tax system, so that this kind of legal evasion is removed. I feel that legal evasion is as bad as concealment of income by some people. Most of the suggestions which we have made in this House as well as in the Consultative Committee meetings have been accepted by our Hon. Finance Minister. We are grateful to him.

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One suggestion which has been accepted lately is public provident fund deduction exemption limit to Rs. 60,000. But so far we have not yet received the full details. I think this Rs. 60,000 sum will include N.S.C., staff provident fund and LIC also. Our Finance Minister has also allowed to withdraw annually for 14 years from P.P.F. account. But through oversight he has forgotten that many account holders have extended their accounts even after 15 years for another 5 years. I feel that they should also be allowed to withdraw annually till the currency of the account. I am sure the Finance Minister will look into this aspect. The P.P.F. account holder has to make an application for seeking extension of his account for another five years. Then the accounts are extended. But should we give that kind of concession to all those persons till their accounts are closed.

Our hon. friend from that side, Prof. Nirmal Chatterjee said that about 85 per cent of staff provident fund can be invested in Government securities and another 15 per cent according to the procedure laid down by the Finance Department. Sir, I wish to suggest a very practical way out of that. This 15 per cent can be invested in N.S.C. If this is done non-Government employees contributing in staff provident fund scheme can also get 12 per cent interest.

As regards estate duty, now it is not in the Statute Book. Last time also I had emphasised that this Act should not be removed. I request the Finance Minister to reconsider my suggestion and revive the Estate Duty Act. If we are going to get Rs. 22 crores, I want to know from whom we are going to get this amount. This amount can be spent towards some poverty programmes through the revival of this Act. If we incur some expenses on this account, this estate duty can be administered by the same Income-Tax Officer who also administers income tax, wealth tax and gift tax. I think except stationery we may not incur any expenses.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: What about expenses?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Except stationery expenses, we may not incur any other expenses, because this estate duty is going to be administered by the same Income Tax Officer.

I am surprised to note that the Finance Ministry has estimated Rs. 15 crores through estate duty in the year 1986-87. I do not know from where they are going to get it, because in the case of estate duty when the returns are filled, provisional assessment is made and money will be received by the Government in advance. Therefore, I am unable to understand from where the Finance Ministry is going to get this amount, I will be happy if the Minister enlightens me on this point.

So far as the public sector is concerned, I want to stress about greater economic functioning and efficiency which is a must. There is no doubt about that. A watchdog committee should be appointed so that they can visit the sites. They should discuss with the workers, with the managemen and give suggestions for improvement. But to say that public sector is not at all working in proper shape is not correct. There are investment of Rs. 36,000 crores and we are getting only Rs. 900 crores out of this investment, which is not correct. The return should be based on the paid up capital of the public sector and not on the total investment. You have taken loans and you are paying interest on that. Interest is charged on profit and this profit of Rs. 900 crores after meeting the charges of depreciation, interest and also the corporation tax, Rs. 1,000 is being given by the public sector and as such. Sir, as far as I can remember the figures, the total paid-up capital of public sector companies of the Central Government is Rs. 19 000 crores and not Rs. 38 000 crores, it is with loan and other things. On 19,000 crores, you are getting Rs. 2 000 crores by way of profit before tax and Rs. 900 crores after tax. Though we have to increaase efficiency, yet we should not say that the public sector is not at all doing good work. I am not of that opinion. There are 1 lakh and nine thousand companies under the Companies Act in Private sector. Out of them, how many

of them are running in profit and how many are running in loss. I would like to know this thing from the hon. Finance Minister? I have tried to find out the figures from the annual report of the department of Company Affairs, but I am not getting enlightened on that. I would like to know from the Finance Minister out of 109,000 companies, how many companies are making profits and how many companies are making loss and what are the total losses? We can have the correct picture of the public sector. So far as private sector is concerned, we have not got the correct picture. I would like the Finance Minister to come out with all these facts before the House. Sir, as regards the collection of custom duty by way of baggage, in 1984, Rs. 228.27 crores were raised by way of baggage; in the year 1985, Rs. 315.3 crores were raised by way of baggage; about Rs. 85 crores have been increased in one year and that is about 33 per cent. Still I feel this income can be further increased. I had gone to Sahara Airport. I noticed there that officers were not in good number. You appoint more officers and see that baggages are thoroughly checked. If this is done, I am sure, you can get another Rs. 100 crores only from Sahara Airport. That is why, I want that more officers should be appointed at the Sahara Airport so that more resources can be generated from baggages which is brought to this country by the persons who are coming from abroad to this country.

Then, Sir, there is one report regarding the special investigation by Directorate of Inspection. Sir, I had already referred to it but you were not present on that day in the House. I again would like to repeat it. Sir, accounts of twelve groups of industries, four multi-nationals and four foreign companies were overseen in the year 1985-86 and what had come out of that? They had concealed income to the extent of Rs. 211.97 crores on which tax comes to Rs. 119.17 crores. Then, Sir, these 12 groups of industries had resorted to the various kinds of methods for the concealment of their real income. But Sir, the name of these four multi-nationals and he foreign companies are not being given. I would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister to what extent, these four multi-nationals and foreign companies had concealed their income so that we can have the correct picture before our eyes and further measures to strengthen this department could be taken. Now there were 288 cases in respect of these 12 groups of companies, but out of these 288 cases, only in 47 cases they have levied a penalty. I do not know why. If the amount concealed is Rs. 211.97 crores, it means about Rs. 1 crore on an average. Why the penalty has not been levied in all these cases has to be investigated and I am sure that some interesting facts may come out.

As far as the Settlement Commissioner is concerned, 154 cases were heard but the majority of cases—it is in the report—were of searches and seizures. The cases of searches and seizures should not be referred to the Settlement Commissioner. The Government must take a decision on this. After the searches, if any person wants to go to the Settlement Commissioner, he should not be allowed. It is not fair. It is a premium on dishonesty. In search cases, the assets which have come to light, the assets which have been evaded, should not be referred to the Settlement Commissioner. It must be dealt with in this ordinary course of law.

As far as tax collection is concerned, in 1985-86, your budget estimate regarding income-tax was Rs. 1,764 crores. But the actual collection up to 28-2-1986—still one month remains, and the last instalment which is to come by the 15th March, does not come into the figures—was Rs. 1,926.82 crores. That means it has gone up by Rs. 150 crores and in the remaining one month it should have gone up by another Rs. 1,000 crores. As far as corporation tax is concerned, your budget estimate was Rs. 3,052 crores. But up to 28-2-1986 the actual collection was Rs. 1,896.43 crores. It means, it is short by Rs. 1,200 crores. I would like to know whether in the last one month Rs. 1,200 crores has been collected by way of corporation tax, because all the figures must

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be available by now. You have to tighten your machinery for the corporate sector also. I feel that still they have no fears. Otherwise I would like to know from you how many companies have revised their income for the last four or five years, since you have given this concession that they can declare it before the 31st March, 1986. If these 12 groups of companies could evade income to the extent of Rs. 218 crores. one can imagine what others could do. That is why you must go ahead with your searches, with your raids. The whole Parliament is with you. Let anybody, any big industrialist or any big newspaper say anything. You have to go ahead with it because this evaded money has to be extracted and has to be spent for the popor people of this country for which you are the Finance Minister.

We have always seen doses of socialism in your budget, like giving concessions to the people, anti-poverty measures and taxing those people who can afford things like airconditioners and motor-cars. Such doses of socialism we have always seen in your budget. So we can see that the real socialism which we want in this country can be achieved.

Lastly, you have decided that in summary assessments, you will take 5 per cent of the cases for a thorough scrutiny. I would like to say one thing about this also. Though the income may be less than Rs. 1 lakh there may be *benami* loans in the books of accounts of the aassessees. For that, what are you going to do? You want that all assessments up to Rs. 1 lakh should be accepted. I think the time has come now because some people may take undue advantage of this. So, with regard to such *benami* loans, concealed income, which can be shown by way of loans received from others, there should be some kind of a scrutiny and at least at the time of filling returns. Sir these persons should be asked for confirmatory Letters from the persons from whom they have taken loans so that this type of things which are going on there now can be put an end to.

As regards the contribution to the Public Provident Fund, Sir, I think he will have to clarify it. He has said that it is applicable to all the people in the country. Sir, I want a clarification from him as to whether the term "all the people" includes, companies, partnership firms, individuals, HUFs and others, and I want the Minister to clarify what actually is meant by the people of the country.

With these words, Sir, I support the Finance Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Now, Shri Vithalbhai Motiram Patel.

SHRI VITHALBHAI MOTIRAM PATEL (Gujarat): Sir, I congratulate the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister for taking steps to improve the economy and to improve the performance of the public sector.

Sir, the performance of the public sector is not good. I have visited some of the public sector units and I found that the co-operation of the trade unions is not there what it should be a in most of the public sector units, the difficulties are always created by the trade unions and when there are more trade unions, there are more disputes and more mandays are lost. So, something has to be done to get the co-opepration from the trade unions to improve the performance of the public sector units. I have seen one thing in the steel plants. In the steel plant trade unions by and large belong to the leftist parties and there the per worker production is much lower. The production in the Tata Steel Plant is 99 per cent while the production in our steel plants is about sixty or sixty-five per cent or something like this and, in some plants, it is still less. So, there should be some mechanism by which you can see that the trade unions also co-operate and help in achieving greater production. I think the leftist parties must be knowing what the policies are in the communist countries. Recently I had been to one of the communist country where it is clearly said that the worker

in the socialist society has no right, but has only responsibility. I have got the manifesto of the Bulgarian Communist Party. In this they have said that the rights and obligations of the socialist personality should expand in keeping with the principle that in the socialist societies no one can have more rights than obligations. It also says further that the requirements of the socialist worker are higher skills, organisation, operativeness, proficiency, initiative, and self-discipline, which should grow in the context of the techno-scientific progress. If we adopt this policy, I think a number of our problems can be solved.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Under capitalism?

SHRI VITHALBHAI MOTIRAM PATEL: What is capitalism? What are you talking?

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Are there Tatas and Birlas there?

SHRI VITHALBHAI MOTIRAM PATEL: They are paying more than what others are paying. Let me tell you. You must accept some good things of theirs also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Now, you please carry on.

SHRI VITHALBHAI MOTIRAM PATEL: In these communist countries, wage is linked with efficiency and productivity. Why do you oppose here? You should accept it here also. Why double standards? Why don't you take up the responsibility? You are going on strikes, asking for more rights whether the unit is making profit or not. In Communist countries this thing will not be tolerated. I have seen that a workers' whose timing is from 8.30 to 5.30 will be at the factory, at the machine, at 8.25 and he will not leave the machine before 5.30; sometimes they sit up to 6 or 6.30. But if in this country also this policy is adopted, this country also will become a really socialist country. So I personally think that some way should be found out for this, otherwise the performance of the public sector units cannot be improved. If one man in BATA produces 2 and half pairs of shoes, the same man here will not produce even one pair. The factory is the same; the machine is the same. Why shouldn't the performance be improved? A private textile mill worker produces 100 per cent but here it is 60 per cent. Why 40 per cent less? Unfortunately, they were all sick mills and managed or mismanaged by private parties. I tell you, hon. Finance Minister, if you go into the purchases which are made by the NTC, there also you will find some 'gadbad', and if you improve their purchasing or find out some way and there is no 'chungi', you can improve the performance of the NTC textile mills also. In this task, you will have to take the cooperation of the bureaucracy; if you want to improve the public sector you will have to take cooperation of the trade unions. Otherwise you will not be able to improve.

I give some examples. The Western Railway, which has nothing to do with Maharashtra, has its headquarters in Bombay. Why? It is because when the British established it, its headquarters was there. Mr. Finance Minister, you will be surprised to know that the route kilometres track of the Western Railway in Gujarat is 5581 kms., in Maharashtra 351 kms., in Rajasthan 2834 kms., and in Madhya Pradesh 1390 kms. Maharashtra has only 351 kms. This is from the reply of the Minister of Railways. Then why should the headquarters of the Western Railway be in Bombay when there is no Western Railway at all? Why should thousands of people from Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh go to Bombay and why should the officers, the Western Railway officers, are moving in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh in saloons? A lot of money is wasted in this way. It is a waste of money of the Government and the people both. You can save this unproductive expenditure. I give another example. Dehra Dun is not producing a drop of oil. Oil is produced in Gujarat, Assam and the shore of Bombay. Why should the headquarters of ONGC be in Dehra Dun? In the same way, the Salt Commissioner has its head office at Jaipur. Salt is produced in Gujarat—60 per cent. The headquarters is in Jaipur where there is no salt produced—not even 10 per cent.

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह : हम लोग तो आपका ही नमक खाते हैं।

श्री रऊफ वलीउल्लाह : यहां महंगा हो गया है वहां से मंगवा लीजिए। (व्यवधान)

श्री नाथा सिंह (राजस्थान) : नहीं राजस्थान में भी बनता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री एम० पी० कौशिक) : हां, राजस्थान में भी बनता है।

SHRI VITHALBHAI MOTIRAM PATEL: When we ask them why they don't shift the headquarters to other places and why this headquarters of the Western Railway is in Bombay, they say it will create administrative problems. They could shift it to Ahmedabad or Ajmer. Thousands of people went from Gujarat to Bombay and it did not create any adminstrative problems. But if they shift it to Mount Abu or Ajmer, they say it will create administrative problems. When the separate States of Gujarat and Maharashtra were formed thousands of employees had to go to Gujarat from Bombay and they faced no difficulties. Continuing of headquarters in this way is only for the entertainment of the bureaucrats and it should be immediately scrapped and it should be properly placed. The officers are going to Gujarat oil fields, Assam and Bombay from Dehradun. Often they go by plane. Have you found out how much expenditure they are incurring on their stay, air fare and other needs while travelling from Dehradun to Guwahati, Assam, Bombay, Baroda and Ankleshwar? So, this type of expenditure should not be allowed. This is waste of public money. I personally request you to enquire into all such cases. There may be other things happening in other places. This is waste of public money. One way or the other, it is people's money and nobody should be allowed to waste it. Why should they sit in the hill station of Dehradun? Why don't they go to Assam or to Ankleshwar where bulk of the oil is produced? They should sit there. Why don't they have their offices there?

Sir, regarding public sector units, you will have to take some hard decisions, otherwise it will not be possible to make them profitable. We have taken over so many sick units. We have taken over shoemaking company, taxtile companies, cycle making companies, food companies. We have got National Engineering Corporation. We have taken over a sick unit. They are manufacturing wagons, they are manufacturing gas cylinders. But our oil companies are not buying from them. They are buying from private companies. Why should they not buy the Government companies? Even the Railways are buying from private units and not from the National Engineering Corporation and Wagon Company. Why should it be like that? What ever is manufactured by the public sector units or Government institutions should be bought from them only. They should not be allowed to buy from private companies. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, I have given some examples and brought these things to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister. Our public sector units have capacity. There are good managements also. But what we need in the cooperation of the trade unions and the bureaucrats. I have not to say much. You have initiated economy. You should also initiate measures to improve the performance of public sector units and for that some hard decisions will have to be taken.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो विधेयक उपस्थित है उसका मैं विरोध करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं। विरोध करने का यह कारण नहीं है कि वित्त मंत्री को हम ईमानदार नहीं समझते हैं या प्रधान मंत्री को हम ईमानदार नहीं समझते हैं, इसलिए कोई विरोध कर रहा हूं, यह बात नहीं है। बल्कि बात यह है कि जो रास्ता हम लोग तय कर रहे हैं उससे अगर यह देश आगे बढ़े तब तो हम समर्थन करेंगे। अगर यह देश पीछे रह जाए तब हम विरोध करेंगे। मेरे लिहाज से दे कं जो ज्वलन्त समस्यायें हैं उनका न इसमें निदान है और न आगे चल करके निदान होने वाला है, बल्कि और भी गहरा संकट रहेगा, इसलिए मैं विरोध करता हूं उदाहरण-स्वरूप महंगाई का सवाल है। मैं समझता हूं कि महंगाई को आप रोक नहीं सकते हैं, वह और बढ़ेगी, इस वित्त विधेयक के चलते आपने जो प्रस्ताव लाया है या इससे पहले जो टैक्स लगाया है इसके चलते महंगाई बढ़ेगी और बेरोजगारी

बढ़ेगी । यह निश्चित बात है कि बेरोजगारी बढ़ेगी । जो बीमार उद्योग हैं, उसका कोई निदान नहीं होगा । जो गरीबी बढ़ती जा रही है, उसका कोई निदान नहीं होगा । अगर आपने देखना हो, अभी जो प्रधान मंत्री हैं, उनसे तो जवाहर नेहरू जी कम समझदार, कम ईमानदार और कम यह नहीं थे, लेकिन उस अवधि में क्या हुआ है कि जो लघु किसान थे, वे सीमान्त किसान हो गए और जो सीमान्त किसान थे, वे खेतिहर मजदूर हो रहे हैं । यह बड़ी तेजी से घटनाएं घट रही हैं, यह कारखाना है, जो देश में लोगों को गरीब बना रहा है और आप समझने की कोशिश नहीं करते, उल्टे तुलना करने लगते हैं कम्युनिस्ट ट्रेड से और हमको कहते हैं कि वहीं डिसिप्लिन ला दीजिए, वह बात ला दीजिए । तो हम किस तरह से ला दे सकते हैं . . . (व्यवधान) . . . वह नहीं होना चाहिए । यहां मुनाफा कमाते हैं . . (व्यवधान) आप हमारी बात को सुनिए । जरा सुन लीजिए । हम यहां कमा कर दौलत पैदा कर देंगे और आप उसे दे दीजिएगा पूंजीपतियों को, टाटा को, बिरला को । हम क्यों मेहनत करें ? हमने चीनी का उत्पादन ज्यादा कर दिया था, तो चीनी के दाम बढ़ गए । हमने कपड़े का उत्पादन ज्यादा कर दिया था तो कपड़े के दाम बढ़ गए और हमने स्टील का उत्पादन ज्यादा किया तो स्टील के भाव बढ़ गए । क्या हम मुनाफाखोरों के लिए करेंगे । आप समाज विरोधी काम कराएंगे हमसे । मैं . . . (व्यवधान)

**श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल :** पब्लिक सेक्टर में . . . (व्यवधान)

**श्री चतरानन मिश्र :** पब्लिक सेक्टर नहीं है, सिर्फ प्रोडक्शन है, जिस प्रकार का प्राइवेट सेक्टर के हाथ में है । एक ही काम है, जो वित्त मंत्री जी ने बहुत अच्छा किया है और हम जिसके बहुत प्रशंसक है कि उन्होंने कर-अपवंचकों पर हमला कराया और उनसे निकलवाया । यह एक अच्छा काम किया है । लेकिन दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि उसके सम्बन्ध में उनकी पार्टी के साल्वे साहब ने कुछ ऐसी बातें कहीं, जिससे लगा कि वह काम नहीं होना चाहिए था, अगर वे कम कीमत में ब्लैक की चीजें खरीद लेते हैं तो सरकार को हक नहीं रहना चाहिए । अगर यही उनका कहना था, जो मैंने सच में समझा है, तो भगवान उन पर दया करे । देश आगे उस रास्ते पर चलने वाला नहीं । मैं उनकी सद्बुद्धि के लिए प्रार्थना करता हूं, तमाम लोगों से कि इस बात को समझें कि क्या होना है ? यह मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि इसमें देश चलने वाला नहीं है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप आप देश चला रहे है क्योंकि वहां पंजाब की तरफ लोगों का ध्यान है, सबका दमदमी टकसाल क्या कर रहा है उस तरफ ध्यान है, सबका ध्यान लगा है रामजन्म भूमि की ओर और बाबरी मस्जिद की तरफ सबका ध्यान लगा हुआ है । लेकिन गरीबों की तरफ सबका ध्यान इस समय नहीं है । इसलिए जो चाहे बिल आप पास करवा लें, जो टैक्स लगाना चाहे, वह लगवा लीजिए, । कोई तुकरखता है कि डायरेक्ट टेक्सेशन हो 2100 करोड़ का और इनडायरेक्ट टैक्सेशन हो 7 हजार करोड़ रुपये का और फिर आप कहते हैं कि आप सोशलिस्ट है । भगवान आप से बचाए सोशलिज्म से अगर यही सोशलिज्म है फिर केपटलिज्म किसे कहते हैं ? यह मैं इसलिए कहा रहा था कि गांव से बड़े पैमाने पर लोग दरिद्र होकर शहरों को भाग रहे हैं और हर साल एक लाख आदमी शहरों में आता है उसके लिए कोई निकरागकरण नहीं है ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, केन्द्र-राज्य तनाव पर अन्ना डी०एम० के० के माननीय सदस्य ने चर्चा की है । आप इसका कोई निदान नहीं देते है । आप कहते हैं कि 1700 करोड रुपया राज्यों को देते है । लेकिन आप उनसे सूद लेते है 2700 करोड़ रुपया । अगर मेरा यह आंकड़ा सही नहीं है तो वित्तमंत्री जी से कहेंगा कि इसको सही करें और बताएं कि इन्टरेस्ट में कितना रुपया लेते है और कितना आप उनको देते हैं । दोनों फिगर सदन के सामने रखें । इन्टरेस्ट 2700 करोड़ रुपया है और आप देते हैं 1700 करोड़ रुपया आप बातों को समझने की कोशिश कीजिये । सभी अनपैट्रियोटिक नहीं हो गए है । जितने राज्यों के आन्दोलन कर रहे है, वे सभी देशद्रोही नहीं हैं । कुछ समस्याएं उठी हैं, जिसका जवाब देना पड़ेगा और इन बातों की इसमें चर्चा नहीं है ।

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

इस तरह से भारत का जो पूर्वांचल पूर्वी क्षेत्र है, चाहे बिहार हुआ या उत्तर प्रदेश हुआ या उड़ीसा हुआ, या उधर लग कर सारा एरिया गरीबी का जोन है। गरीबी का जोन है। उनको कैसे उठाया जाए इस पर आपने कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं रखा है, कोई विशेष साधन नहीं रखे है गांव के लोग आज शहरों में भाग-भाग कर आ रहे हैं। लेकिन आपने इस साल के बजट में जो प्रोविजन किये हैं, चाहे वह सड़क का हो, चाहे बिजली का हो, चाहे मकान का हो, जितने कमोडिटी लास्ट-इयर प्रोविजन किए थे, पिछले साल किए थे, वहीं हैं। लोग जाएंगे कहां? भाग-भाग कर यहां आ रहे हैं और मरघट कर आप उन्हें भगाना चाहते हैं। मैं चाहता था इस ओर सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिए।

एक और समस्या है भ्रष्टाचार की। जो रुपया आप देते हैं, वह मिल नहीं पाता है। सब लोग इस बात को जानते हैं, आप लोग भी जानते हैं कि 50 परसेंट भी रुपया उनको मिल नहीं पाता है, जिनके लिए आप देते हैं। इतना भयंकर भ्रष्टाचार है। इसके बारे में कुछ होना चाहिए। मैं आपसे अपील करना चाहता था कि आपकी पार्टी गहराई से इस पर सोचे। लेकिन प्रधानमंत्री जी आप लोगों के बारे में कहते हैं कि आप ब्रोकर्स आफ पावर हैं तो फिर किससे अपील करें? ब्रोकर आफ पावर से अपील करें। अभी देखा कि जितनी हिमाचल प्रदेश और हरियाणा की पापुलेशन है उससे ज्यादा कांग्रेस की मेम्बरशिप हो गई है।

**श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल**: प्रधानमंत्री ने सबके लिए ऐसा नहीं कहा।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र**: मैं मानता हूं आप को छोड़कर वह।

**श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल**: इस में हो सकता है... (व्यवधान)

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र**: इस को छोड़िए। आप के लोगों ने कहा, हम विदेश की आइडियालोजी में विश्वास रखते हैं, उस समय आपने उठकर नहीं कहा कि ऐसा नहीं बोलना चाहिए। उस समय कहां गई आपकी सद्बुद्धि। जहां तक सत्यता की बात है, न्यायशास्त्र में दिया है कि प्रत्यक्ष का कोई प्रमाण नहीं होता। अब हम बता देते हैं कि हम चीन के समर्थक नहीं है। आप जानते हैं कि मैं सी० पी० आई० का मेम्बर हूं, उनका विरोधी रहा। इसलिए कुछ दिन आपके साथ भी रहा जब चीन ने आक्रमण किया। चीन भारत के दो वर्ष बाद आजाद हुआ। उसका आबादी 103 करोड़, हमारा आबादी 75 करोड़ क्या इस शताब्दी के अन्त तक इस रास्ते पर चल कर हम चीन से ज्यादा प्रगति कर पाएंगे नहीं करेंगे। आपको कोयले का जितना उत्पादन होता है उसके साढ़े पांच गुना कोयले का उत्पादन चीन करता है। वह हमसे पिछड़ा हुआ था, ज्यादा गरीब था। और जितना स्टील पैदा करते हैं उससे वह पांच गुना ज्यादा पैदा करता है। हम जितना गल्ला उपजाते हैं उससे ढाई गुना गल्ला उपजाता है। हमको दुख होता है आपको शायद नहीं मालूम होगा, मैं जेल गया हूं स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन में रहा हूं मुझे दुख होता है कि केवल मिलिटरीली ही नहीं हराया, आर्थिक मोर्चे पर भी हमको हरा दिया है। आपको ग्लानि नहीं होता? हमको ग्लानि होती है। किस बात की? आपके प्रशासन में रहते हुए भारत दुनियां में सबसे दरिद्र देश घोषित हुआ है। यूनाइटेड नेशंस की रिपोर्ट देख लीजिए। भारत सबसे ज्यादा अनपढ़ों का देश घोषित हुआ है, सबसे ज्यादा बेरोजगारों का देश घोषित हुआ है। इस शताब्दी के अन्त में हम इस स्थिति को बदलेंगे? इस रास्ते से नहीं बदलेंगे, अगर टाटा, बिड़ला को रखेंगे तो नहीं बदलेंगे। हम नहीं रहेंगे, लेकिन बाल-बच्चा रहेगा और गाली देगा। मैं स्वीकार करता हूं कि पब्लिक सैक्टर में दोष आ गया है। दोष इसलिए आया है कि वहां कैपिटलिज्म है। आप हमारे वर्कर को भी खराब करते हैं। मैं उनके साथ रहता हूं, आप भी रहते हैं। जब सभी धनी बन रहे हैं तो वर्कर भी धनी बनने की कोशिश करता है—कोई बिना टिकट पैसिंजर ले जाकर, कोई ट्रांसपोर्ट में, कोई बिजली में, कोई बैंक में—सब भ्रष्टाचार में शामिल होते हैं। यह पूंजीवाद के चलते हो रहा है, आपके चलते हो रहा है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि इस रास्ते से देश का कल्याण नहीं होगा।

उन्होंने कहा कि आपने साथ नहीं था 42 में, पीपुल्स वार कहा था । हम नहीं कहते कि नहीं कहा था । अभी बीकिया पर हमला हुआ, अमरीका ने किया, उसके पहले स्वैज कनाल पर हमला किया था । दुनियां के कम्युनिस्टों ने रोक था, बाकी लोगों ने तो प्रस्ताव पास किए । हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने नाम आन्दोलन का नेतृत्व किया, बहुत अच्छा प्रस्ताव पास किया, लेकिन रीगन को रोकना होगा तो कम्युनिस्ट ही रोक सकते हैं । यह शक्ति कहां से आई ? गरीबों के हाथ में शक्ति देने से आई, टाटा बिड़ला रखने से नहीं । इसलिए मैं अपील करता हूं कि इस नीति को छोड़िए।

वित्त मंत्री ने कुछ एक्सेप्शन दिए हैं । जो पहले टैक्स बढ़ाया था अब उसे माफ कर दिया है इससे हमको एक पहाड़िए की कहानी याद आती है । पहाड़ी जब सामान पीठ पर रखकर चढ़ता है तो 400–500 पत्थर के टुकड़े रख लेता है, ऊपर जाता है तो पत्थर हटाता जाता है और समझता है कि भार हल्का हो गया। आपने पहाड़िए की तरह किया है । आपने बजट में कुछ नाजायज पत्थर रख दिए थे, आगे जाने पर एक-दो पत्थर हटा दिए और कह दिया कि हमने रिलीफ दे दिया। लेकिन मैं आप से अपील करुंगा कि अगर रिलीफ देना है तो चश्मे पर दीजिए जिस को गरीब लोग इस्तेमाल करते हैं, उस के फ्रेम पर दीजिए या लेंस पर दीजिए और उस पर जो टैक्स पड़ता है उस को खत्म कीजिए । कडवा तेल और किरासिन तेल इस फाइनेंस बिल में नहीं आता है लेकिन उस पर आप का ही टैक्स है । उस को आप खत्म कीजिए । उस से आखिर कितना पैसा आता है ? इसी प्रकार जो जीवन-दायिनी दवायें हैं उन पर टैक्स को खत्म कीजिए । लोग कहते हैं कि आप ओपेन म इन्डेड हैं । लेकिन मैं नहीं समझता कि आप हैं । अगर ओपेन माइंडेड हैं तो आप पूंजीपतियों के लिये हैं। आप ने उन पर हमला किया बहुत अच्छा किया, लेकिन उस के साथ हम गरीबों की बात भी तो आप सुनिये । आपने जो लांगटर्म पालिसी बनायी है वह गारंटी है कि बुर्जुआ क्लास पर कोई टैक्स नहीं लगेगा, लेकिन देश के उत्थान के लिये उनको ज्यादा पैसा देना होगा । जहां तक सरकार का सवाल है आप ने स्टेट को तो एक लिमिटेड कंपनी बना दिया है और जिन से आप कर्ज लेते हैं वे आप के शेयर होल्डर्स हैं (समय की घंटा) मैं खत्म ही कर रहा हूं । जिन से आप लोन लेते हैं उनकी संख्या करीब 5 करोड़ की है । उनको इंटरेस्ट मिलता है 8 हजार कुछ करोड़ रुपये । तो आप ने 5 करोड़ लोगों के लिये तो 9000 करोड़ की गारंटी कर दी कि स्टेट एक्सचेकर से वह ले लेंगे लेकिन गरीबों को देते हुए आप को दर्द क्यों होता है । आप ने उन को दो करोड़ रुपया भी नहीं दिया । जो गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे हैं उन को दो करोड़ भी नहीं मिलते । इंटरेस्ट रेट हमारे देश में बहुत ऊंचा है। इस की गहराई में आप लोग जायेंगे तो देखेंगे कि मजदूरों के लिये यह नहीं है मजदूरों का तो प्राविडेंट फंड का 130 करोड़ रुपया अभी बकाया है और वर्षों से पड़ा है । यह छूट आपने उन को दे दी है और दूसरी तरह की सुविधा भी आप उन को दे रहे हैं । मैं फिर अर्ज करुंगा कि कम से कम राजकीय क्षेत्र के बारे में आप गंभीरता से सोचें । अखबारों में यह बात आती है कि दस ऐसे जो पब्लिक सेक्टर है जो मुनाफे में चल रहा है उन में पूंजीपतियों का हिस्सा कर देना चाहिए और उस को प्राइवेटाइजेशन की तरफ ले जाना चाहिए । यह दुख का विषय है । मैं चाहता हू कि इस रास्ते पर आप न जायें ।

अंत में दो तीन सुझाव मैं देना चाहता हूं । मैं चाहता हूं कि इस देश में दो तरह की प्राइसेज हों । एक पर गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहने वालों को चीजें दी जायें और दूसरी प्राइसेज जनसाधारण के लिये हों । दूसरे फाइव स्टार कल्चर को खत्म किया जाये । पहले गरीबी को दूर करिये फिर फाइव स्टार होटल और उस की कल्चर को खत्म कीजिए । जापानीज आये, जापानीज आये इस का हल्ला मचा हुआ है । उस को रोक दिया जाये । तीसरे मेरी मान्यता है कि कोई भि संगा राष्ट्र विश्व का ज्यादा दिन तक नेतृत्व नहीं कर सकता है । सौभाग्य से परिस्थिति ने भारत को अवसर दिया कि

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

हम 'नाम' का नेतृत्व करते रहे हैं, पहले के प्रधान मंत्री भी करते रहे है और अभी भ. कर रहे हैं लेकिन एक बेगर नेशन ज्यादा दिन तक ऐसा नहीं कर सकती। तो ऐसा रास्ता अपनाइये कि जिस से हमारे राष्ट्र की उन्नति हो। तभी हम विश्व को नेतृत्व दे सकते है। इस के अलावा जो हमारी सीमायें हैं उनके असली रक्ष. हमारा बार्डर सेक्योरिटी फोर्स है और इस समय वह काफी कमजोर हो गया है। इसीलिये बाहर से स्मगलिंग होती है और देशद्रोही बाहर से आते हैं। यह सारी बातें हो रही हैं। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि आप ऐसा अभियान चलाइये जिस से सारा राष्ट्र आप की ओर आकर्षित हो। जैसे पहले चीन या पाकिस्तान का आक्रमण हुआ था या इंदिरा जी ने गरीबी हटाओ का अभियान चलाया था उस समय सारा राष्ट्र एक हो कर साथ खड़ा हो गया था। इसलिये आप ऐसा अभियान चलाइये जिससे सारे राष्ट्र का ध्यान उस ओर आकर्षित हो और तभी हम दमदमी टकसाल जैसों से फुरसत पा सकते हैं। नहीं तो आप देख ही रहे हैं कि उनके आदमी भाग गए, जो पार्टी शासन में है उनके लोग भी भाग गए। थोड़ा ही अंतर है अकाली पार्टी में और आपकी पार्टी में वह भाग रहे हैं, आप भगा रहे है। अंतर तो थोड़ा ही है दोनों में। खैर जो भी हो, आप एक राष्ट्रीय अभियान चलाने की नीति अ तियार कीजिए जो आप कर रहे हैं उससे बेकारी बढ़ेगी, मंहगाई बढेगी, देश में भयंकर संकट उत्पन्न होगा और हमारे देश की आर्थिक नीति डांव डोल हो जायेगी। इसलिए मैं आपसे अपील करूंगा कि आप अपनी नीति पर पुनर्विचार कीजिए और पुराने विचार जो आ के है उनको बदलिए। राजीव गांधी नए विचारों के है, उनके हाथ में आपने महत्वपूर्ण जिम्मेदारी दी है। लेकिन विचार में वे अपने नाना से सौ साल बूढ़े हैं। पता नहीं वह मुस्लिम बिल कहां से ले आए उठाकर। उनके यहां बुरका न सोनियां गांधी ओढ़ती हैं, न पर्दा रखती हैं। ऐसे आप बुरका डाले चलेंगे तो उससे भारत आगे बढ़ेगा? हम यह नहीं कहते कि आप एक ही बार में सब कुछ कर लीजिए लेकिन पैर पीछे तो मत हटा ए। जहां नेहरू जी थे, जहां महात्मा गांधी थे, पहले भी जवान लोग थे, लेकिन आप यह क्या कर रहे हैं? कभी गंगा में, कुंभ में जाकर स्नान कर रहे हैं, कितने लोगों को पार उतार दिया आपने। आप पूजा कीजिए, पाठ कीजिए, लेकिन देश को बरबाद मत कीजिए। एक रास्ता ऐसा अख्तियार कीजिए जिससे देश को हम आगे ले जा सकें। उसके लिए नया आर्थिक अभियान ऐसा लाइये जिससे हम देश को मजबूत करें।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं और आपको धन्यवाद देता हूं कि आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया। मैं आशा करता हूं कि सरकार को सदबुद्धि आएगी और वह दश को आगे ले जा सकेगी।

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill, 1986, moved in this House today by the hon. Finance Minister. I wish to congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for the new concessions announced by him in excise and customs duty and also in direct taxes. These concessions have been widely welcomed by all sections in the country, particularly, the small-scale industries in the country. Most of these concessions, I understand, have been designed to remove the anomalies, but many others, I am sure, will go a long way in providing substantial relief for the deserving assessees.

Sir, as has been rightly pointed out by my friend on the other side, the Finance Minister has ushered in a new concept of open budgeting, through discussions and dialogues with the tax-payers and the people concerned in the country. The post-Budget discussions which the Finance Minister had with different sections of the society of industrialists, economists, parliamentarians etc. have also instilled faith and confidence among the tax-payers in the country. These new concessions which the Finance Minister has announced will, no doubt, cost the national exchequer Rs. 82 crores but as I mentioned in my speech on the Appropriation Bill, this sacrifice is worth it because now nobody can accuse the Finance Minister of not listening to a just and fair demand. Sir, at this stage, I do not want to go into

the broader aspects of the economy or the question of deficit financing or the new fiscal policy because these have already been discussed in the debate on the Union Budget and the Appropriation Bill.

Therefore, I now come directly to the clauses of the Finance Bill. There is an amendment in clause 4, to section 16 of the Income-taax Act, which says, "a sum equal to 30 per cent of the salary or 10, 000 rupees whichever is less." If this is what the amendment is, it will only help the upper bracket salaried people and, therefore, my suggestion would be that in order to help the small salaried class the monetary ceiling percentage-wise should be increased from 30 per cent to 40 per cent. I do not mind if the figure of Rs. 10,000 is maintained as it is but the percentage-wise ceiling should be raised from 30 per cent to 40 per cent in order to help the small salaried people.

Coming to amendment of section 23, I do not know what made the hon. Finance Minister to come out with this amendment. When the Government is taking such good steps to amerliorate the condition of the people, this would only help the capitalists, particularly when in subsection (b) it is said, "which the assessee may at his options specify in this behalf." This will help only those people who own posh and luxurious houses. For example, in Bombay if you own a flat in Marine Drive or Malabar Hill, it will not cost less than Rs. 50 lakhs or Rs. one crore, and I fear if under this section it will not be taxed on its notional income which was hitherto being done. You may provide for some deduction under this section. Therefore, this section 23 may be looked into as far as this aspect is concerned. If a house worth Rs. 50 lakns or Rs. 60 lakhs is not taxed, it would go against the canons of taxation.

In regard to insertion of new section 32A and B, the condition for eligibility is that the investment must be made out of income chargeable to tax, that is, the promoter's own money and conspicuously the borrowing is kept out of its purview. I plead that the condition of 20 per cent of profit which is eligible for deduction and the ceiling limit should be fixed. For the purpose of ceiling limit the entire investment should be made eligible. Not only the promotor's own money or the company's own money but even borrowing should be included in this. Irrespective of the eligibility for deduction, whatever the source of finance, either borrowing or the company's own fund, or borrowing when he pays, should be considered as eligible investment for the purpose of deduction under this section.

Another amendment to which I would like to refer is under section 43. Here I fail to understand why it has been given retrospective effect from the 1st day of April 1974. If retrospective effect is given, I think it will seriously affect financial planning of the companies, particularly of the corporate sector. Sir, capitalisation was done on the basis of various decisions given by High Courts in the past and, therefore, if a retrospective effect is given, it will seriously jeopardise financial planning and projections of the corporate sector. I welcome this section but if retrospective effect is given, as it is done, I think the corporate sectoor will come into great difficulty. Sir, I am not pleading the case of the corporate sector but of the numerous companies which have made their financial calculations, projections in the last ten years. There can be no objection if there is a prospective effect given but retrospective effect will create more difficulties. Another section that I would like to refer to is the amendment to section 54E. Here you have included "bonds" issued by any public sector company, as the Central Government may by notification in the official gazette specify in this behalf". This is in order to eliminate—a part of it of course—the evil of black money. I only want to add here that if you include even bank deposits under this section, then our purpose will be served. This has also been criticised saying that this section should include the bank deposits. Many economists and financial commentators have said that if the Finance Minister can include bank deposits under this section, the money that is underground can be brought out by way of bank deposits.

Then you made an announcement recently that under the P.P.F. the limit has

[Shri Raoof Valiullah]

been raised to Rs. 60,000, if I am correct. Here I would like to say that in order to boost up savings and investment, under section 80L you make an amendment that the limit of Rs. 7000 would be raised to Rs. 10,000. I am saying so because Government has issued National Savings Certificates, VI and VII series and in the fourth year as the limit reaches Rs. 7000 in respect of interest received, further sale of National Savings Certificates will be seriously affected. Therefore, in order to boost the savings, I would plead that under section 80L the limit should be raised from Rs. 7000 to Rs. 10,000. You would also know—I do not know whether this has been made an issue by some hon. Member—that this year's Budget does not have any provision or amendment which will have the effect of promoting savings and investment. Therefore, I plead that here is a chance of mopping up resources by way of savings and investment. Therefore, under section 80L I would plead that the limit be slightly raised.

My hon. friend, Shri Salve was referring to something that I did not like personally. There is a new section inserted—section 133B. Hon. Member, Mr. Ramakrishnan, had also mentioned that this was a very good thing that you did not to allow the Income Tax Officers to enter residential premises. But even the section as it is worded now, should be accompanied by a certain amount of accountability on the part of the Income Tax authorities. On the one hand you are trying to be very strict with the taxpayer. On the other hand you know there is rampant corruption at the lower levels. And the poor taxpayer is sandwiched. Therefore, there must be a certain authority at the ministerial level or at the Board level which would instruct that there should be accountability also accompanying seizures under section 133B.

I have read with interest certain comments about the new Chapter that you have added in the Bill—*i.e.* Chapter XXC. This Chapter has come to be regarded as something which is out of this Act. I am not an expert on financial matters but I have read certain comments in financial newspapers that this Chapter cannot find a place in the Income Tax Act.

5.00 P.M

....because it deals with the curbing of the evil of black money in property transactions.

And here there is a clause that the Government would purchase the property where the consideration is less than the market value, and in this chapter clause 6 it mentions that if the Government, after one month, does not give you the consideration, then, the whole thing lapses. Therefore, I feel that this chapter can be reworded or I do not know how to say. But there is a feeling that this chapter should not have been a part of the Income-Tax Act because the Income-Tax Act has nothing to do with the taking over of the property and all that. And, therefore, I do not know whether this will be struck down by some court because it deals with the compensation to be given for the property which is to be seized.

Sir, another thing that I mentioned last time—I do not know what action the Ministry has taken so far—is that I had pointed out the representations which have come from various chambers of commerce and other people also with regard to the conversion of debentures into shares and whether these are covered under capital gains under the Income-Tax Act. That is under section 263. Sir, it has been pleaded that the question has been raised by several Commissioners of Income-Tax, particularly those of Ahmedabad and Baroda, and they have issued notices also to assessees under section 263 that the assessees were liable to pay income-tax under the head "Capital Gains" at the point of time when the debentures held by them in a company are converted by the company into shares in terms of the offer either automatically or by exercise of an option given to the holders of the debentures in terms of the offer. I would plead with you that this section as defined in section 263 of the Income-Tax Act should be considered.

**[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu) in the Chair.]**

Before I conclude, I only want to make a point which the hon. Member, Prof Nirmal Chatterjee also made. Sir, this is an issue pertaining to the levy of the consignment-tax which has been sorted out in

the Conference of Chief Ministers which was held on 28th May, 1984. Sir, all the Chief Ministers were present, and the issue pertaining to the consignment-tax was sorted out. But there were only two points which did not find the consensus, and those were pertaining to the powers to grant exemption to certain goods and transactions and whether these powers were with the Central Government or the State Government and the share of the proceeds of the tax. After the 1984 Conference there was another conference in 1985, and these two issues were also sorted out. Now I would like to know from the Minister whether the Government proposes to introduce an appropriate legislation in this respect. This will certainly help those States which have either abolished octroi or which are in the process of abolishing octroi. This consignment-tax issue has been raging a controversy in the last two, three years. I would request the hon. Minister to look into this also and tell us whether the Union Government will bring forward a suitable legislation.

With these observations, Sir, I once again support the Finance Bill.

Thank you.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I start my speech, I want to say that I am surprised to listen to Mr. Chaturanan Mishra. I am sorry he is not present now. He questioned why we should produce at all. I was surprised to listen from a man who called himself also to be a freedom-fighter, who said that he was in jail, comparing our country with China with 103-crore population, which got independence after three years. And he said that it has advanced. But how can India advance with such trade union leaders telling why should we produce at all? First of all let us produce. You have at least that much of patriotism. Then comes the question of distribution. If there is something wrong with the distribution, that is our concern. Let us sit together across the table and see how best the distribution can be equal or without discrimination. But before producing you say why should we produce at all? If the same question is put by an agriculturist or an agricultural labour in this country, from where our trade union friends will get food at all? Just because they are running organised trade unions, they are putting this question. Why should we produce? Have they thought of those unorganised labourers, growers, small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers for whom nothing has been done by them, the so-called labour leaders? You don't consider them labourers. Only those who pay contributions and toe their party's line or trade union you treat them as labourers. Holding a brief of a handful of labourers they say why should they produce. If they are opposed to the private sector, it is all right. At least in the public sector you show that you can also produce more and that you have a right to distribution. We have also implemented the concept of labour participation in the management. You have got a say in that. You have every right to sit across the table. Industrial Disputes Act is there. You have got negotiation and reconciliation facilities and still you are discontent'. On the other hand you say this a retrogative measure.

देश आगे नहीं बढ़ा है, पीछे जा रहा है, इसलिए हम इसका विरोध कर रहे हैं।

I am sorry to note that you cannot remove the specs that you are wearing. Whatever is going on in this country you do not claim it to be any achievement. The hon. Member professes that he was a freedom fighter, but he cannot see the change that has taken place between 1947 and 1986. If he cannot see, I should say that he has no eyes or he has no mind to see the changes that have been brought about after Independence. Moreover he has not cooperated in bringing about this growth.

Our hon. Prime Minister in one of his speeches has said that this was an era of continuity and change and both continuity and change are to be reflected in our policies. Some of our policies are time tested policies. They have the roots in the national mind and they form the basis of our scheme. Our policy is not averse to a change, but not accustomed to a sudden change. The change will have to be a gradual process and a gradual transformation.

[Shri H. Hanumanthappa]

It is said that Budget is an instrument of social and economic change. Our new Government after the mandate from the people through its two budgets have announced various policies and programmes which reflect the feelings expressed by our hon. Prime Minister on continuity and change.

What do our critics say regarding our budget I would like to quote Shri Palkiwala, an eminent economist and a critic himself: "Promise of stability is kept up." This is not the praise from the ruling benches. "The lower rate of individual and corporate taxes continued. Much needed relief to middle class and the poor are welcome. And no right-minded man can oppose anti-poverty programmes." These are the words of Palkiwala, who is an economist as well as a critic of the present Government.

Hon. Finance Minister was blamed that he had dealt some hard blows in order to bring the transformation, the era of continuity and change. This opinion was voiced in Parliament and outside. Taking a hint from the discussions on the reactions of the Budget, the hon. Finance Minister, who has been entrusted with the task of this transformation through Budget and fiscal policy, has responded to the feelings and expressions of the people and its representatives and has come out with a series of concessions to keep his word and to soften a few hard blows he dealt in his Budget. Sir, what is the process through which the Government implements the programmes, promises, and concessions. The Finance Bill is an instrument which gives power to the Government to implement assurances and policies announced in the budget and also discussions on demands. The discussion on the Finance Bill gives an opportunity for an analysis or critical review of the Government of handling its fiscal policies in particular and the transformation envisaged through budgetary process in general. Now, I take this opportunity to speak something about what my economic friends have said—how the rupees has come. But I want to deal with how the rupee goes. My predecessors also spoke about socialism, how the money is collected through various fiscal policies, how it is being distributed and where it goes. Sir, India lives in the villages wherein 80 per cent of the population lives. Let us see how much 80 per cent of the population get from the coffers of the Government of India. There is an increase on agricultural side by 29 per cent. The subsidy to the extent of Rs. 3,700 crores comprises—on food it is Rs. 1,750 crores and on fertilisers Rs. 1,950 crores. So a sum of Rs. 3,700 crores is being given to small agricultural farmers. As I said earlier, it is these agriculturists who produces foodgrains for us. Whether a farmer produces or not, but the Members sitting in Parliament or a trade union leader or a labour gets food from the farmers. These farmers are well taken care of by this budget in the form of subsidy to the extent of Rs. 3,750 crores. In the Seventh Five Year Plan these subsidies are going to be to the extent of Rs. 41,000 crores. The Government is really taking care of our farmers by giving these subsidies.

Regarding rural industries, the Government has given emphasis on the handloom sector, but I must say that the khadi and village industries which is basically a rural oriented industry, has to receive some more importance. Now its production is worth of Rs. 875 crores. It has absorbed more than 35 lakhs of people. The Seventh Five Year Plan envisages 58 lakhs of rural employment and its production will be Rs. 2,285 crores. This is not a small sum. Our big industrialists could not reach every nook and corner of our country. But our khadi and village industries have reached. Therefore, I feel it requires some more financial allocation. It employs 35 lakhs of people. It reaches 58 to 60 lakh villages in the Seventh Five Year Plan.

Sir, coming to the anti-poverty programmes, it touches the bulk of our society. More than 50 per cent of our people live below the poverty line. The budgetary allocations have been raised for IRDP by 51 per cent from Rs. 283 to Rs. 428 crores. In the case of IRDP. I have to say one more thing here. In implementing this scheme in my district a survey has been conducted. But the minimum subsidy that has gone to the beneficiary is Rs. 254 which is quite meagre. The average subsidy is Rs. 750 only. The maximum subsidy is Rs. 1,800. With this kind of sub-

sidy, can we expect any economic activity in a poor family. The IRDP programme envisages, with the economic activity he should be able to repay the loan as well as maintain himself. There is a necessity of reviewing these programmes.

Sir, the NREP programme which is basically meant for the rural unemployed youth workers, there is an increase of 93 per cent from Rs. 230 crores to Rs. 443 crores. Similarly, in RLEGP there is an increase of 58 per cent, and self-employed from Rs. 65 crores to Rs. 103 crores, an augmentation of 58 per cent. This shows how the money collected from the Budget is being distributed to the needy people, to those who are below the poverty line, those who are in need of the work and the food.

Sir, in addition to this, recently our Finance Minister has included the urban poor also. Poor are found both in urban as well as in rural areas including rickshawala, cobblers, washermen, barbers and cart-pullers. They have been included under the anti-poverty programme and they are being taken care of in order to generate economic activity, generate finances and carry on the economic activity in the country.

Sir, I would like to compliment the banking sector but some of the policies deserve to be reconsidered. Regarding the credit limit about the rural banks, recently, NABARD has issued a circular in order to carry RRB deposits, ratio should be raised from 15 to 30 per cent, but Sir, it would be difficult for these R.R.B. Gramin Banks to increase the ratio from 15 per cent to 30 per cent. Of course, they have been representing before the NABARD and I request the Finance Minister to look into this to see how best this ratio is gradually raised from 15 per cent? No doubt, in course of time, it may reach 30 per cent but straight away, 100 per cent increase will not be possible. That will hamper the working of the rural banks.

One more point regarding the opening of the new branches. Sir, these rural gramin banks are doing wonderful work in the rural areas and bulk of our anti-poverty programmes are being handled by them. They have been distributed in the rural areas but in the farflung areas, within 10 miles, we do not have the branch. The Reserve Bank has fixed up 17,000 population as the criteria for opening up of a branch. If we fix 17,000 population, the villages in the far-flung areas are not covered. Some of the banks have applied and particularly, I have also written a letter to the hon'ble Finance Minister to permit the RRB to open its branches in the villages and where they are doing good work and they want to take further risks in order to help the sponsored programmes. So, permission to open new branches is ought to be given.

One more aspect about expansion of our Doordarshan. In the year 1984, on very alternative day, we saw on T.V. a new T.V. relay station had been opened covering 70 per cent of the population in the rural areas. But the unfortunate 30 per cent have not been covered so far. Somehow, a slackness has been found in the T.V. network. It has created discontentment among those who have not been covered. It was the ambitious programme of late Smt. Indira Gandhi that the country should be covered by the T.V. network but the 30 per cent of the population is being slackened and the people some time question us when we go there. They say since 1984 was the election year, it was spread so fast and how it has been slackened. So, let us not be confronted with such questions. Some allocations have to be made to see that these rural people too are included in this network. Some additional allocation is necessary. Many of the developmental programmes which are shown on T.V. these rural people are denied of them.

Coming to Education Policy which we are discussing. I don't deal with that. Recently P&T Department has started establishing rural telephone exchanges also. I only request one thing. It is not the quantity expansion but it should be the qualitative expansion also. A telephone should not be an ornamental instrument on my table. It should be useful whenever it is required. But I should say the

[Shri H. Hanumanthappa]

working of the department is far from satisfactory. I request the Government to take note while expanding the telephone exchanges in the rural areas, particularly this aspect should be looked into.

Coming to my district, there are one or two problems. Sir, it is a severely chronically drought affected area. Every year, successively, some part or the other of Chitradurg district is suffering. Of course, our plea is to take up some permanent relief measures in the district in the form of irrigation through the Upper Bhadra project. Right now work is on on the Chitradurg-Rayadurg line which links both Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. Nearly two to three thousand people were working. Unfortunately this year there is a cut in the budget and 2,000 workers have been thrown out of employment. The NREP is there to provide employment. And under the minimum needs programme, we have 'food for work' also. If the Railways do not have the required funds, at least by using 'food for work' and NREP funds, these two to three thousand workers can be given employment, particularly when the drought is very severe in these parts. With these words I support the Finance Bill.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, while participating in the discussion on the Finance Bill, Mr. Salve was saying that the country is making progress and it is going ahead due to the mixed economy. The Members on that side talked of mixed economy, Gandhian principles and all those things. In this regarad, before going to the Bill, I would like to say a few words about what Gandhiji wanted. They talked of Gandhian socialism and tried to interpret socialism in a different way. And they tried to justify that they are the only champions of the socialism and economic policy propounded by Mahatma Gandhi.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: We have not said we are the only champions. We said, we are also.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Our socio-economic policies should be socialistic-oriented. We attained our independence in 1947. Our Constitution was adopted in 1949. The Preamble of the Constitution says:

> "WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:
>
> JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
>
> LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
>
> EQUALITY of status and of opportunity;
>
> and to promote among them all
>
> FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation."

Sir, in this Preamble, it is very clear that we will strive for the establishment of a socialistic society, a socialist India. But unfortunately the successive Governments at the Centre have failed to work to this end. They never tried to formulate their policies on the basis of a socialistic economy. The result is that our country—80 per cent of our people live in villages—has remained poor and today we find that the condition of the masses of rural India is still very miserable. Over 40 per cent of the people are still below the poverty-line without proper provision of clean drinking water, without shelter, without education, without proper roads, without cottage and small industries. We have completely neglected to develop rural India, that is, the villages. Our attention has been towards the big cities. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, we have to make the village a self-sufficient unit. We have to beautify the villages, not the cities. Of course, we have to beautify the cities. But at the same time, we have to give our attention to beautifying the villages, and not the cities alone, by making sufficient provision for clean drinking water, by making the village a self-sufficient unit, by making provision for electricity, roads

and cottage and small industries. Today in villages the artisans, the village craftsmen, have disappeared from the scene and we find that our attention has been diverted to something else. The whole economic planning has been faulty. We have to take a new look at our planning and change the whole structure and concept.

Coming to the Finance Bill, I would like the Finance Minister to give explanation to two failures about which no adequate answer has been given. Firstly, the administered prices have been increased, collecting about Rs. 2000 crores. Secondly, just before presentation of the Budget 42 notifications were laid before both Houses of Parliament whereby concessions were given to the affluent classes. Some of the distortions that were there in the Budget have still not been corrected in the Finance Bill. It has been made clear that certain wrongs were done at the earlier stage in the fiscal policy. In our Seventh Five Year Plan we have shown a deficit of Rs. 14,000 crores and we have assured the industrialists, the monopolists, the big businessmen, that we are not going to touch them, we are not going to levy any taxes on them for a period five years. What are the implications of it? We have to collect revenue by way of indirect taxes. And who is to pay them? The common man, the poor man. The burden falls only on the common man. So I urge upon the Finance Minister, before you formulate your socio-economic policies, before you formulate your Budget, you must keep in mind the interests of the common man, the peasant, the cobbler, the villager, the consumer; it is their interests which must be taken into consideration, not the interests of he affluent sections of the people. Although an attempt has been made to present this Budget as a poor man's Budget as a common man's Budget, but in reality what is happening? The burden of it is felt by the common man, by the consumer not the industrialist, not the monopolist, not the affluent classes. Those classes have escaped. This is nothing but an eyewash, to say that this is a poor man's Budget.

Then, coming to the some of the major steps taken by the Government, I congratulate the tax collectors, especially the Income-tax collectors, so far as their raids, searches and seizures are concerned. Monopolists, industrialists, big business, those people are trying to evade taxes, and in order to collect taxes, in order to prevent evasion of taxes and unearth black money, these raids and searches are conducted, and adequate amounts have been recovered. While we must take stringent measures to see that no smuggler, no blackmarketeer, no tax-evader, escapes the clutches of law, we must at the same time ensure that unnecessary searches are avoided, that innocent people are not harassed, because what happens is in their enthusiasm, on mere suspicion the officers go and raid people's residences and innocent people are put to harassment. They must be punished and every effort must be made to see that the tax is collected from them.

So far as the sick units are concerned, this has become a regular phenomenon. The number of sick units is increasing day by day. The number of sick units in December 1980 was 24,450 and, in December 1984, the number went up to 93,282. The financial institutions advance loans to the big industrialists. They do business for some time and they make profits and then they make the industries sick. Then again they go in for another industry and they appply for new licences and thus at the cost of the industries the monopolists are becoming healthier and healthier. The Finance Minister and the Government must have a serious look at these things. When the financial institutions advance loans to the industries, they send their representatives. What are these representatives doing when the industrialists make the industries sick and bring about losses for the country? Why are they not reporting this to the institutions? Why are they not taking proper steps in the earlier stages? So, I would suggest that the representatives of these institutions should also be subjected to punishment and inquiry.

There is another thing. When you see that the big industrialists want only make a unit sick, they should be subjected

to punishment and fines and no concession should be given to such industrialists. This must be borne in mind.

As far act the bank loans are concerned, the poorer sections of the people, especially the agriculturists, the cobblers and the other rural artisans, have been allowed loans. But no person, especially from weaker sections of the society, gets the full amount which is sanctioned. Even what they get they get after a lot of difficulty. The Minister of State for Finance has also been visiting villages and this has been brought to the notice and he has also admitted in this House that this practice continues and that the real benefit does not reach this section of the society. So, I would request the Finance Minister to take note of this fact and do something to see that this practice is put an end to.

Then, Sir, with regard to corruption, I would like to know how you are going to prevent corruption which is there now is every walk of life. Corruption is there everywhere now, in offices, in the railways, in industries and in other places, or it is there even in the field of employment. Corruption is prevalent everywhere. So, unless and until the Government takes stringent measures, corruption cannot be rooted out. So far as our Government, the Telugu Desam Government is concerned, our Government has taken certain measures. The first thing that the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh did was to take certain steps to prevent corruption and he has taken certain stern measures. So, I would say that the Government must pay more attention to the issue of corruption and see that it is eliminated.

Another thing to which I would like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister is about self-reliance. The Government has to pay more attention to agriculture and irrigation. Our country is a very vast country. From Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Gujarat to Nagaland, it is a very vast area, and we find that, in this vast country of ours, many States face floods, drought and other natural calamities quite often. So in order to prevent these the Government must have a plan. Sir, at the same time, the States, especially four or five States, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and Rajasthan, have suffered drought. These States are trying to do the necessary relief work, and at the same time they are requesting the Central Government to send Central teams and provide immediate relief to the suffering people. But it is seen that Central teams are sent after 2 months or even 4 months after the floods or drought and relief comes after a year or so and not even 5 per cent of the aid sought by the States is given. So I would request the Central Government that in such cases the Central Government must take a realistic view and the States must be helped in time.

Then, Sir, so far as the distribution of financial powers is concerned, of course the Centre has got its own powers, its own jurisdiction. But so far as the financial powers are concerned the States must be given a larger share in the financial powers. If States develop, automatically the country is developed. If States become weak, the country also becomes weak. It is not our intention to weaken the Centre. But the States must get their due share.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to say that so far as the MODVAT scheme is concerned, I welcome it, as its principle is concerned. But there are certain areas which still have to be covered under this scheme. So far as the small-scale industries are concerned, they are facing some difficulties so far as this scheme is concerned. (*Time bell rings*) Just one minute.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): You are taking the time of other friends; they will get no time.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Just one minute. MODVAT is likely to pose innumerable problems to the small-scale sector. The small entrepreneur has to maintain cumbersome records to avail the proforma credit under the scheme. So far as the principle is concerned, I welcome it. But the Finance Minister must look into these difficulties and try to remove them. As a matter of fact, we expected that due to the application of the principle of MODVAT the prices will

come down. But in the final analysis, the prices have gone up. I do not understand how. The Finance Minister must look into it and do the needful At the same time, I also request the Finance Minister that other items also should be brought under the scheme of MODVAT.

Sir, as I said earlier, we have to take an overall view of the country and we must have a change in our thought and we must have planning on socialist lines. Then only the country will progress.

Thank you.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU)** Mr. Bir Bhadra **Pratap Singh.**

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, last time when I was expressing my views on the Appropriation Bill, I had talked about certain disquieting trends in our economy, in particular in relation to the budgetary system that we have. Now, it is correct that our Budget is under severe pressure to meet the growing expenditure on account of interest payments, Defence, subsidies, assistance to States, funding of the 7th Five Year Plan, non-Plan expenditure, development and upliftment of the poor sections of society and many other welfare schemes that we have to follow. I may say that in this budget by allocating more resources to the extent of 50 per cent on rural development, 29 per cent on agriculture, 46 per cent on transport, 23 per cent on infra-structure, 22.5 per cent on coal and 23 per cent on power, as compared to last year, our learned Finance Minister has done very well. He has put right priorities on the map. But the question still remains and when we are considering our Finance Bill, I would like to raise three questions only. My friends, Mr. N. K. P. Salve and Hr. Valiullah, have referred to it. It is the change in Section 23(2). But while referring to this section, I am not pleading for that section of the society which has constructed houses for Rs. 5 lakhs and above. I am bothered only about those 10 million people who have constructed their houses on loans. Since so many people have referred to it, I think the question of their difficulties would be considered because we know that the demand for houses in cities is growing and several house financing agencies have cropped up to advance loans for buying flats and constructing houses. This is in the case of those 10 million middle-class people whom I am bothered about at the moment. If the concessions which are withdrawn are not restored, then the middle-class people would not be able to construct their houses and the shortage of houses in cities will continue to grow. By withdrawing deduction allowance from taxable income by way of repair, interest and insurance premium, the position is that the interest which one has to pay on loans will not be subject to taxation. Uptill now, the amount was allowed to be deducted from the taxable income.

The second question to which I want to draw the attention of the learned Finance minister is that even in his well-intentioned budget, we have failed to give relief to millions of the country who are known as white-collared class. Again, I am pleading the case of middle-class people. While we were discussing the budget proposals, so many people pleaded that the exemption line of income-tax should be raised from Rs. 18000 to Rs. 25000. That is one argument. Some linkage has to be there. My suggestion is that the limit should increase in chain neutralising a certain percentage of inflation every year. Some formulat of that type has to be evolved. Otherwise t,he raising of exemption limit would be nullified.

Similarly, in the sphere of savings, some more incentive schemes need to be initiated. The budget, unfortunately, has not come up with the expectations of the masses on these two scores. In the field of savings, inflation is the biggest hurdle. The person who buys a life insurance policy of Rs. 10,000 today and gives his hard-earned money for the next 20 years, gets only Rs. 10,000. And in some cases, he gets a little bit of bonus declared by the LIC every year. Whereas due to inflation, the money value is depreciated considerably by the time he gets money. If the past trends are any indication, Rs. 10,000 paid over year after year for 20 years, certainly stands depreciated to about Rs. 6,000 today. Thus, as a matter of fact, the person who is being made to make the savings is actually depleting his

money. Something has to be done to remove this anomaly. Something has to be done about Section 133B. I have already mentioned it and I do not want to repeat it.

Sir, there is one point which I want to bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister. He was not here last time when I quoted the UNO economic expert, Mr. Parkinson. The renowned Economic Adviser to the UNO, Mr. Parkinson, has pointed out in one of his books that prudent man while forming his budget first takes into account the income and then tries to regulate his expenditure accordingly. But in the case of Governments, they first find out as to what the departments will spend and then try to mobilise the resources. And he is one of the expert advisers to the UNO today. And he says that most of the Governments fall into the trap with the result that the obvioous deficit financing has become the inevitable part of the economy. If we analyse this concept, we had a deficit of Rs. 5,940 crores in 1985-86 which has risen to Rs. 6,874 crores in the recent Budget of 1986-87. But the disquieting trend is that it is likely to increase in the next Budget, that is 1987-88 Budget. So, we will have to think seriously something. And, I think, our learned Finance Minister must be having the grip over the situation because he has nullified Parkinson's established thesis that once a tax is imposed, it will not be withdrawn. Last year he has done it. Not only he reduced the rate of direct taxes, but he also abolished the Estate Duty. I think, he has put our finances on the right track. There is no harm in admitting that there had been a lot of deviations. We had deflected from the path. But now for the first time he is putting it on the right course, thinking of course, in his mind that in a developing economy, we have to develop. And I do not agree with the criticism of our friends on the other side that if you are sure that the labour will get adequate compensation for their labour, only then tney will be participating in increasing the production. That is a completely wrong approach. The new financial policy has put our finances on the correct track. There are possibilities of good development. But let us not be complacent about the loopholes. For instance, 38 per cent of the small scale industries are merely on paper, as has been assessed by many people. I have not assessed it. But many economists have said it. We have to fund the money without creating any assets. This is the story of a tiny sector only. But bigger public sector units have their own story. I do not want to go into this question. I only wish to say that the Government should regulate spending on these areas so as to see that public money is not wasted. I am quite aware that the Finance Ministry is conscious of this aspect of the matter. A well-intentioned allocation should not go into the pockets of unscrupulous, unsocial and anti-social elements, who are out to destroy the economy of this country. The Finance Minister should have come out with a ways and means that every paisa of public money spent on this account will be only for the purpose for which it has been intended. The people who have embezzled public money in all sorts of ways must not be allowed to go scot free.

So, Sir, one thing to which I want to draw your attention is the question that public sector units must be impelled to do well because we had much expectation from them and that they would raise resources for our Seventh Five-Year Plan. We are not getting it. We are trying to improve their functioning. But there are two or three things which have got to be kept up. They should not be allowed to follow a policy of laissez faire in the matter of pricing policy. That was my first question which I wanted to mention. One major contributory factor to the spiralling prices in this country is the autocratic price-fixing policy of the public sector. That was the second aspect which I wanted to emphasise. They are abusing their monopolistic position and the industries come out with increases in their prices in every budget. They should be given all the facilities but not at the cost of the consumer. In a country which believes in MRTP restrictions, the public sector undertakings should not be allowed to create monopolies in the products as well as in prices. It is one area where the Government will have to take care, as otherwise the resource to finance the plan may get into jeopardy.

[Shri Bir Bhadra Pratap Singh].

Now, much has been said about MODVAT by a large number of people. I feel that it requires more training. The misunderstanding should be removed. I found that because of the confusion many industries have stopped their production. I have visited Kanpur. I found that because of the confusion, not in the industry, but because of the confusion in the machinery which is required to implement this scheme, the production had been stopped in many industries. There is confusion in the Excise department itself. I found production in many places stopped. So I talked this matter with him personally also and I once again repeat that this confusion must be overcome by clearing this misunderstanding as soon as possible because if production is affected by our well-intentioned scheme then that will further harm us. So, I think that they should take notice of this matter.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity of taking part in this important debate. First I will congratulate the Finance Minister for the open budgeting system that he has introduced. The Government's functioning is now transparent and the legacy, the old legacy of the British Government, the colonial regime of having secret budgets and denying participation to the people and to their representatives in the formulation of the Budget, in the framing of the Budget, is no longer there. Our Finance Minister has taken into confidence the people and the Parliamentarians not only while framing the Budget but even after presenting the Budget. He has talked to various people.

I think the economy of the country has been of late good; the performance has been good during 1981 to 1985. To quote one or two figures, while the world average growth rate was 2.37 per cent, the growth rate of developing countries was 2.19 per cent and Indian growth rate was 5 per cent. In 1985-86, we managed to keep the inflation rate down to 3.7 per cent. Agricultural growth rate was 2.5 per cent and industrial growth rate was 6.5 per cent.

I welcome the Finance Minister's repeated assurances that our country will not fall into a debt trap. But the market borrowings this year are Rs. 5300 crores and the interest payment last year was 40 per cent. I think it might increase to 45 per cent this year. Under IMF repayment scheme, the repayment will, I think start this year and it might consume 20 per cent of our external earnings.

There are direct and indirect pressures on our country from the developed countries, the World Bank and the IMF, for devaluation. I am sure the Finance Minister will ensure that whatever may happen, he will not submit to the pressures for devaluation of our currency because that would be a big disaster. The question of adverse balance of payment position has been causing great anxiety. I hope a policy of self-reliance and import substitution will be able to solve this problem.

The Finance Minister has persued relentlessly a tough policy towards tax evaders. Only yesterday, while addressing Income Tax Commissioners Conference, he advised them to remain tough and he also disclosed that about Rs. 1000 crores of enhanced taxes had been collected. But I want to draw his attention to one thing. I was reading the Finance Bill, I hope he will clear the confusion about provision of 133-B in regard to raiding the residences of people who are suspected to have black money and objectionable things, and why has that been omitted.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It has not been withdrawn. Power to raid residences remains.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: But in the Finance Bill....

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: That is power of survey. Power of raids remains.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: That is good then. Our friend was referring to public sector. No doubt, my party's commitment to public sector stays and we have to evolve a policy of self-reliance and undoubtedly the public sector will occupy the commanding heights of our economy. But we cannot shut our eyes to certain shortcomings in the public sector. We have

made an investment of about Rs. 40,000 crores in it. If my information is correct, our profits are to the tune of Rs. 6.00 P.M. 1,000 crores only. My information is that the capacity utilisation is 60—65 per cent. That is to say, 35 to 40 per cent of the capacity is unutilised. I would suggest that instead of launching new schemes, it is better to concentrate on old projects and increase their capacity utilisation. The power projects are a case in point. They have very low PLF, i.e. plant load factor. Most of the electricity boards are white elephants. The figures show that there is 20 per cent loss in distribution and out of this, 12 per cent is because of theft. This means, power worth thousands of crores of rupees is just being pilfered. The electricity boards are centres of corruption. We know what the engineers are doing. The Finance Minister also knows it very well. He tried to tackle the problem in his home State of U.P.

Sir, some of the bureaucrats managing the public sector undertakings and corporations behave like nawabs. They spend thousands of rupees on their perks. Some of them are part-time Chairmen or Managing Directors. Steps should be taken to stop the wastage taking place in these undertakings.

Now, I would like to refer to sick industries. A lot of concessions have been given to industrialists under the liberalisation programme. I would like to know whether there has been any significant growth. Last year, big concessions were given. Some measures were announced by the Finance Minister to check the abuses by industrialists in declaring their industries sick, I would like the hon. Finance Minister to tell us in his reply what measures were taken and whether they have yielded any results. Sir, the number of sick units has increased from 24,515 in 1980 to 93,280 in December, 1984. Since the IDBI gives loans to the financial institutions—some banks also give loans to industries—naturally, they have directors on the Boards of such industries. These directors should be more active and they should safeguard the interests of public and their money, the exchequer. I would suggest that those directors who fail to do their duty should be withdrawn and should be punished.

Sir, the anti-poverty schemes are welcome. They are part of our overall development plan. In this connection, I also welcome the 65 per cent increase in the outlay which has been made in respect of these schemes. But as everybody knows, as has been mentioned here as well as in the other House, some of the money which is spent on these schemes, which is allotted for these schemes, goes down the drain. In fact, bank officers, Government officials and so many other people connive and conspire to eat away the money and hardly 40—50 per cent of the people are the actual beneficiaries. Rest of it goes into the hands of undesirable elements. I am sure, something will be done to prevent such things. Secondly, there are complaints that some people who get the money do not spend them properly. I will close with one suggestion of mine which I hope the Parliamentary Affairs Minister will convey to the hon. Finance Minister. My suggestion is that the Budget should be presented not at 5.00 O'clock as at present but soon after the Question Hour because the Budget is a very important subject and when the speech is delivered at 5.00 O'clock it goes on up to 7.00 O'clock and then the media is in a great rush and the real substance of it does not appear in newspapers in the manner it should. The editorials are hurriedly written and there is no in-depth analysis the same day. Next day most of the news is stale. So, apart from other innovations introduced by the Finance Minister, he should introduce change in the timing of the presentation of the Budget. This time of 5 o'clock was fixed long-long ago by the Britishers for their own reasons. I know there is a logistic problem of the financial year but I hope the Government will be able to arrange it and this will be done, next year.

Once again I wholeheartedly support the Finance Bill.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष श्री संतोष कुमार साहू :** कल्पनाथ राय। समय का थोड़ा ध्यान रखिएगा।

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** (उत्तर प्रदेश) थोड़ा सा बोलने दीजिएगा। आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय।

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: It was decided to adjourn at 6.00 p.m.

Two days were alloted to this. There was no Calling Attention also. It was decided to continue till 6.00.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (RAJYA SABHA) (SHRI SITARAM KESRI): But there was lunch today. You asked for it and it was there although it was decided that there will be no lunch. (*Interruptions*). Kindly allow the last speaker to finish.

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय** : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपने देश की ग्रामीण जनता की तरफ से मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने एण्टी पावर्टी प्रोग्राम के लिए अपने बजट में काफी पैसा बढ़ाया है। समन्वित ग्रामीण विकास योजना, इन्टेग्रटेड रूरल डेवलपमेंट, आर० एल० जी० इ० पी० के माध्यम से ग्रामीण गरीबी को खत्म करने की दिशा में उन्होंने थोड़ी ज्यादा दिलचस्पी दिखाई है और उसके लिये पैसे का आवंटन ज्यादा किया है। इसके लिये हम अपने देश की करोड़ों-करोड़ों गरीब जनता की तरफ से उनको धन्यवाद देना चाहते हैं। दूसरी तरफ देश के अंदर टैक्स की चोरी करने वाले कालाबाजारियों, तस्करों, काला धंधा करने वालों के खिलाफ जो उन्होंने एक अभियान छेड़ रखा है ताकि राष्ट्र के जीवन में एक पवित्रता आये, देश का हर व्यक्ति कानून की निगाह में बराबर हो, तो इस कदम का भी हम स्वागत करते हैं। आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आजादी के बाद हमारे देश के नेताओं ने प्लांड डेवलप्मेंट के माध्यम से हिंदुस्तान के विकास का सपना देखा था। पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना से लेकर सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के माध्यम से हमने अपने भूखे नंगे, कंगाल देश को प्रजातांत्रिक माध्यम से विकसित करने की दिशा में एक ठोस एवं समयबद्ध कदम उठाया है। हिंदुस्तान इन्हीं योजनाओं के माध्यम से आज एक शक्तिशाली राष्ट्र के रूप में विकासशील देशों के नेता के रूप में उभरा है। मुझे दो तीन बातें आदरणीय वित्तमंत्री जी से कहनी हैं पहली बात मुझे गांव वालों की तरफ से कहनी है इस समय 12 हजार करोड़ रुपये का तेल विदेश से मंगा रहे हैं। 9 हजार करोड़ का बैलेंस आफ पेमेंट है। अगर हिंदुस्तान के किसानों को आप रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइसेस देने की दिशा में प्रयास करते तो यह जो 12 हजार करोड़ का विदेश से तेल, एडीबुल आयल मंगा रहे हैं। एडिबुल आयल 1200 करोड़ का और जो बैलेंस आफ पेमेंट का नौ हजार करोड़ का सवाल है, तो आज हमारी मार्क्सवादी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग या और लोग जो सरकार की आलोचना कर रहे हैं, यदि हम रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइसेज हिंदुस्तान के किसानों को दें, तो शायद इस कलंक को हम धो सकें कि हिंदुस्तान विदेश से नहीं मंगवा रहा है और यह बड़ा भारी काम हमारे देश की इकानामी को मजबूत करने की दिशा में होगा।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे देश में चीनी भी इस साल इम्पोर्ट करेंगे। आदरणीय वित्त मंत्री जी आप जानते हैं, आप उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री थे, पूरे हिंदुस्तान में 42 लाख मीट्रिक टन जनता सरकार के कारण चीनी का उत्पादन घट गया था और एक साल 22 रुपये क्विंटल आपने गन्ने का दाम किसानों को दिया था। इसके फलस्वरूप एक-दो साल के अंदर 84 लाख मीट्रिक टन चीनी का उत्पादन देश में हुआ।

**श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : 26 रुपये तक दिया।

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय** : 22, 25 तथा 26 रुपये आपने दिया। आप बतायें कि किसानों को आपने रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइसेज दिये, तो देश जो करोड़ों-करोड़ रुपये की चीनी विदेश से खरीद रहा था, वह अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो गया। तो क्या कारण है--मैं तो बड़े-बड़े विद्वान लोग, अर्थ-शास्त्री लोग और टैक्स के न जाने

क्या क्या बातें कर रहे हैं, लेकिन जब मैं आपके बजट के ऊपर आपको धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं, तो आपका ध्यान हिंदुस्तान के उन सात लाख गांवों की तरफ जरुर ले जाना चाहता हूं। जब तक गांव विकसित और मजबूत नहीं होंगे, आप पूरे हिंदुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को मजबूत नहीं कर सकते। पूरी ग्रास नेशनल प्रोडक्ट का 50 प्रतिशत तो केवल खेती से हमें मिलता है। तो ग्रास नेशनल प्रोडक्ट का 50 प्रतिशत जो है, वह हमारा खेती से पैदा होता है, लेकिन पूरी सातवीं पंच वर्षीय योजना में और पूरे आपके बजट में इरिगेशन, एग्रीकल्चर, पावर, सब को मिला लीजिए तो 25 प्रतिशत से ऊपर गांव और खेत के विकास के लिए पैसे की व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। आपने पहले से ज्यादा पैसा बढ़ाया है, लेकिन अगर ग्राम नेशनल प्रोडक्ट 50 प्रतिशत एग्रीकल्चर से है, तो फिर 25 प्रतिशत ही क्यों रहे बजट में, एलोकेशन खेती या खेती से संबंधित मंत्रालयों या एंटी-पावर्टी प्रोग्राम वाले कार्यक्रम, विकास के ऊपर क्यों इतना ही किया गया है ?

आदरणीय महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी आप हिंदुस्तान के किसानों को जानते हैं और...

**श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह** : राज्य सरकारों में भी कृषि के लिए बजट होता है, मिलाकर देखिये।

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय** : मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार के बजट और फाइनेंस बिल पर बोल रहा हूं। इसलिये राज्य सरकार से हम क्यों बात करेंगे। हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री, श्री राजीव गांधी जी ने हिंदुस्तान को इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी में ले जाने का एक सपना देखा है, ऐसा हिंदुस्तान जो शक्तिशाली हिंदुस्तान होगा, विकसित हिंदुस्तान होगा, समाजवादी हिन्दुस्तान होगा, जो दुनियां में विश्व विकास और विश्व शांति का उद्घोष करेगा। इतना बड़ा सपना हमारे राष्ट्र-नायक राजीव गांधी जी ने देखा है और उनके सपनों को चरितार्थ करने का काम देश की 70 करोड़ जनता के ऊपर भी है, इस मुल्क को चलाने वाले सभी दलों के, सारे राष्ट्र पुरुषों को है, मंत्री परिषद् को है।

तो मैं आपसे यही निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि क्यों खेती, गांवों, ग्रामीण विकास, पावर, एग्रीकल्चर, इरिगेशन, जिसके माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान की ग्रास नेशनल प्रोडक्ट बनती है, क्यों नहीं उसके ऊपर हम ध्यान देते ?

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, सन 1980 में श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी भारत की प्रधान मंत्री थीं। यह जनता सरकार की उनके नेता जो यहां बहुत लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें करते हैं, उन्हें थोड़ी-बहुत शर्म भी होनी चाहिए कि जब इनकी सरकार सत्ता में आई, तो किसानों का नाम लेकर, वहा किसानों के नाम पर ढ़ोलक पीट कर सत्ता में आई, लेकिन जब इनके हाथ में हुकूमत आई, तो आठ रुपये क्विंटल गन्ना, एक बार और तीन रुपये क्विंटल गेंहूं का और तीन रुपये क्विंटल धान का रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइस बढ़ाया और दूसरे साल जब इनका अंत होने लगा ,तो अढ़ाई रुपये प्रति क्विंटल के दाम इन्होंने बढ़ाया। तो नाम से तो आए गांव के, नाम से तो आए किसान के, लेकिन किया कुछ नहीं।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAMAKRISHNA) in the Chair].

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मगर हम आज भी भारत के करोड़ों किसानों की तरफ से विश्व की महान नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को धन्यवाद देना चाहते है। उन्होंने 1980 में सत्ता में आते ही हिंदुस्तान के किसानों को 25 रुपया क्विंटल गन्ने का दाम, रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइस दिया। उसके बाद 10 रुपया क्विंटल 1981 में, 10 रुपया क्विंटल 1982 में, 10 रुपया क्विंटल 1983 में, 10 रुपया क्विंटल 1984 में गन्ने का दाम बढ़ा। हां, वीरेन्द्र वर्मा जी आप किसानों के नेता हैं, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है हमारा कि आप हमारे साथ नहीं हैं। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि कितना दाम बढ़ाया आप जैसे राष्ट्रवादी और सच्चे व्यक्ति की जरुरत है हमारे दल की ओर

हमारे नेता को लेकिन हमारी बदकिस्मती है कि आप यहाँ नहीं हैं। इस प्रकार 40 रुपया क्विंटल दाम बढ़ा उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय और आज अखबारों में निकल रहा है कि गेंहूं और चावल के मामले में, सूखे के बावजूद, अकाल के बावजूद कई प्रांतों में हमने रिकार्ड उत्पादन किया है। क्यों ? क्योंकि आपने रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइस दिया। फिर 1980 में आपने 25 रुपया क्विंटल गन्ने का दाम दिया। 1980 से अब 1986 हो गया, गन्ने का दाम इस साल ढ़ाई रुपये आपने बढ़ाया। तो क्या हुआ? लेकिन फिर भी आपको विदेश से चीनी मंगानी पड़ेगी। इसलिए जितना रुपया आप विदेशों की सरकारों को देते हैं चीनी को लाने के लिये उसके ढोने में जितना पैसा देते हैं यदि वही पैसा प्रदेश के किसानों को दे दें तो वे भी चीनी का उत्पादन कर देंगे। अगर हिन्दुस्तान विदेश से चीनी मंगाए और खाने का तेल मगाए तो यह सोचने की बात है। आप वित्त मंत्री हैं, प्रधान मंत्री की बात नहीं है, आप कुछ कर सकते हैं। और तो वित्त मंत्री ऐसे होते रहे हैं जो कि शहर में पैदा हुए, शहर में पढ़े-लिखे और और बड़े हुए और वित्त मंत्री बन गए। आप तो गांव के रहने वाले हैं, आप किसानों को अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। आप गांव-गांव में घूमें हैं। किसानों को आपसे बहुत आशा है। आप हो कम से कम कैबिनेट में रेम्युनरेटिव प्राइस के सवाल पर कुछ कहिए और करवाइये। आप मजबूती से वहां पर इस सवाल को उठाइये। तभी हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था मजबूत होगी क्योंकि हिंदुस्तान की पूरी अर्थ व्यवस्था गांवों की कृषि पर निर्भर करती है। यूरोप की पूरी अर्थ व्यवस्था शहरीकरण और उद्योगीकरण पर निर्भर है। दुनिया के सारे विकसित देश जो कि तीसवीं अक्षांश के उत्तर के रहने वाले हैं उनकी पूरी अर्थ व्यवस्था शहरीकरण और उद्योगीकरण के आधार पर टिकी हुई है। हिन्दुस्तान और इससे संबंधित विकासशील देश इनकी पूरी अर्थ व्यवस्था खेती और खेती से संबंधित अर्थ व्यवस्था पर आधारित है। जब तक हम खेती की अर्थ व्यवस्था को अपने देश में मजबूत नहीं करेंगे तब तक हम कभी भी रेगन और थैचर की अर्थ व्यवस्था के मुकाबले में अपने को मजबूत नहीं कर पायेंगे। आज टोकियो में 7–8 विकसित देशों के राष्ट्रपति और प्रधान मंत्री मिल रहे हैं। हमारे रुपये की कीमत पिछले वर्षों के मुकाबले में कितनी घटी है, पौंड के मुकाबले में कितनी घटी है, जापान के येन के मुकाबले में कितनी घटी है ? विकसित देशों की करंसी के मुकाबले इन्टरनेशनल मार्किट में हमारे रुपये की क्या हालत है इसके हमें मद्देनजर रखना चाहिए। जब हम अपने देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था पर विचार करते हैं तब हमें इन चीजों पर नजर रखनी चाहिए। मुझे आपसे निवेदन करना है कि 900 करोड़ का हमारा बैलेंस आफ पेमेंट है। क्योंकि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय बाजार में कंपीटीशन के मुकाबले में हम अपनी चीजों को नहीं बेच पा रहे हैं। हां, इसके लिये आपकी फाइनांस मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से पूरी दुनियां की मार्किट का सर्वेक्षण कराना चाहिए कि कौन-कौन सी एग्रीकल्चरल गुडस हैं जिनको दुनियां के बाजार में हम बेच सकते हैं ? क्योंकि जो दुनियां के विकसित देश हैं उनमें वे चीजें पैदा नहीं होती जो कि हमारे यहां हिंदुस्तान में होती हैं। हमें यह देखना चाहिए कि किन-किन एग्रीकल्चरल गुडस को हम एक्सपोर्ट कर और एक्सपोर्ट करने वाली चाहे गांव की एजेंसी हो या कोई प्राइवेट एजेंसी हो उनको हम कितना एनकरेज करें यह भी देखना चाहिए, ताकि हम अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय बाजार में दुनियां के अन्य देशों के मुकाबले अपनी एग्रीकल्चरल गुड्स को उनसे व्यापक पैमाने पर बेच सकें। उनका प्रचार-प्रसार और पब्लिसिटी करके अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय बाजार में हम उनकी इतनी मांग पैदा कर दें कि हमारा हजारों-हजार करोड़ रुपये का जो डिफीसिट है वह सरप्लस में बदल जाए। लेकिन जब तक आप एग्रीकल्चर, कृषि पर मल्टी प्रोंज्ड विचार नहीं करेंगे, खेती के

विकास की बात नहीं सोचेंगे। आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, वर्मा जी यहां मौजूद हैं, 196/– रुपए क्विंटल इस समय गेहूं का इश्यू प्राइस है, रामचन्द्र विकल जी भी मौजूद हैं, 196/– रुपए क्विंटल गेहूं का सस्ते गल्ले की दुकान पर इश्यू प्राइस है, लेकिन इस समय इलाहाबाद में आपके जिले में और मेरे जिले में 125/– रुपए क्विंटल गेहूं बेचा जा रहा है आपकी रेमुनरेटिव प्राइस है 162/– रुपए की, जिस पर सरकार खरीदेगी और 196 रुपए क्विंटल बेचेगी। सो कोई क्यों सस्ते गल्ले की दुकान पर खरीदने जाएगा। यह बुनियादी सवाल है। पुराने कार्यकर्त्ता आपसे मिलते हैं, उनसे आप पूछ लीजिए। आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह एक बुनियादी प्रश्न है। आप तो बड़े विद्वान है, बहुत बड़ी-बड़ी बातें टक्स के सम्बन्ध में की हैं इनडायरेक्ट टैक्स, डायरेक्ट टैक्स, सेल्स-टैक्स, इंटरनेशनल मानेटरी फण्ड वगरह–वगैरह। आज पूरी अफवाह फली हुई है और मैं उसके लिए आपको भारत की जनता की तरफ से बधाई देना चाहता हूं। आपको वर्ल्ड बैंक या इंटरनेशनल मोनेटरी फण्ड के उन सत्ता के बड़े-बड़े जो लोग हैं, जो हिन्दुस्तान को झुकाना चाहते थे कि हिन्दुस्तान अपने रुपए को डीवेल्यू करे, भारत के सम्मान को मद्देनजर रखते हुए आपने उनकी मांगों को ठुकरा दिया। इसके लिए मैं भारत की करोड़ों जनता की तरफ से आपको बधाई देना चाहता हूं कि आप वर्ल्ड बैंक और इंटरनेशनल मोनेटरी फंड की मांगों के आगे नहीं झुके। हिन्दुस्तान के हम लोग भूखा रहना पसंद करेंगे, लेकिन हम अपनी अर्थव्यवस्था का निर्माण करेंगे। जिस दिन लोगों ने अखबारों में इसको पढ़ा तो लोगों की छाती चौड़ी हो गई कि हिन्दुस्तान के मामले में हम किसी के सामने झुकना नही चाहते। वह हमें झुकाने की कोशिश करेंगे, हम नहीं झुकेंगे। वर्ल्ड बैंक को कण्ट्रोल करने लोग आई० एम० एफ० को कंट्रोल करने वाले लोग कभी हिन्दुस्तान के दोस्त नहीं बन सकते क्योंकि उनकी पूरी अर्थ-व्यवस्था एक्सप्लायटेशन पर निर्भर करती है। वे हिन्दुस्तान को एक्सप्लायट करना चाहते हैं। हम एक्सप्लायट नहीं होना चाहते। हम अपनी सेल्फ रिलायन्स एकानोमी बिल्ट अप करना चाहते हैं और कर रहे हैं, अपनी रिसोसज के बल पर अपनी अर्थ-यवस्था को धीरे-धीरे मजबूत कर रहे हैं। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना हमारी 2000 करोड़ रुपए की थी और आज हमारी सातवीं पंजवर्षीय योजना में केवल पब्लिक सेक्टर में ही 1 लाख 80 हजार करोड़ रुपए इन्वेस्ट किए जा रहे हैं। हमने अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के माध्यम से अपने देश की अर्थव्यवस्था को मजबूत बनाया है। यह भूखा, नंगा, कंगाल हिन्दुस्तान आज अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय रंगमंच पर एक शक्तिशाली और विकसित देश के रूप में उभर कर सामने आया है। लेकिन अगर आप चाहते हैं वही टेम्पो बना रहे, तो आपको अपने मुल्क की खेती, मुल्क के गांव और अपन मुल्क की एग्रीकल्चरल एकानोमी को मजबूत करने के लिए चतुर्दिक प्रयास करना पडेगा। आज आप जो 1200 करोड़ रुपये का तेल बाहर से मंगा रहे हैं। इसके लिए आप रेमुनरेटिव प्राइस डिकलेयर कीजिए और केबिनेट में पास कराइए, तो एक साल के अंदर हिन्दुस्तान के किसान इतना तेल पैदा कर देंगे कि हमें विदेशों से तेल मंगाने की जरूरत नहीं होगी। आप इतना बोल दीजिए कि हम बाहर से तेल नहीं मंगाएंगे, हम आधे तेल का इस्तेमाल करेंगे और किसानों को उचित मूल्य देंगे। लेकिन आप विदेशों से तेल मगांने जा रहे है। इसलिए आप कारखानों मे पदा होने वाली चीजों और खेतों में पैदा होने वाली चीजों के दामों में पैरिटी एस्टेब्लिश कीजिए। सन् 1980 में 12 मार्च को श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जी की अध्यक्षता में केन्द्रीय केबिनेट ने फैसला किया था कि कारखानों में पैदा होने वाली चीजों और खेतों में पैदा होने वाली चीजों के दामों में पैरिटी एस्टेब्लिश करेंगे। मैं आपसे पूछता हूं अब आपने 1980 में 25/– रुपए क्विंटल गन्ने का दाम दिया, तो आज 1986 हो गया है और इन छह वर्षो में एरीगेशन की कितनी कोस्ट बढ़ी, बिजली की कितनी बढ़ी, फर्टिलाइजर की कितनी बढ़ी और कितनी कौस्ट ट्रेक्टर की बढ़ी, लेबर की बढ़ी, खेतों में पैदा होने वाली चीजों के कितने दाम बढ़े और क्या उस प्रोपोर्शन में आपने पैरिटी एस्टेब्लिश की? गन्ने के दाम देने का यह एक बुनियादी

प्रश्न है और आपकी ही सरकार ने फ़ैसला किया था ।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको धन्यवाद दूं, केवल कुछ बातें सुझाव के रूप में रखना जरूरी नहीं है। आपने एण्टी-पावरटी प्रोग्राम रखा, जो सबसे निचला हिस्सा है, उसके लिए । गांधी जी कहा करते थे –"आजादी का सपना तब तक पूरा नहीं होगा, जब तक किसी भी आंख में आंसू रहेंगे।" तो उस आंख के आंसू को पोंछने की जो दृष्टि आपकी है उसके लिए बधाई । आपने समन्वित ग्राम विकास योजना या ग्रामीण रोजगार योजना या आर एल ई जी पी में 65 परसेंट इनक्रीज की– इससे हिन्दुस्तान के सबसे दरिद्र और गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले इन्सानों के दिल में आशा का चिराग जला, पहली बार उनके मन में भावना पैदा हुई कि हमारे लिए हमारी सरकार, राष्ट्र के नेता सोच रहे हैं । वह बहुत अच्छा कदम है । इस लेयर से ऊपर की जो लेयर है, जो मार्जिनल फार्मर हैं, जो स्माल फार्मर हैं, जो 18 एकड़, 10 एकड़ और चार एकड़ के किसान हैं, जो खुद हल चलाते हैं, खुद खेती करते हैं उनकी अर्थव्यवस्था का आप सर्वे कराइए । वे लोग खेती छोड़कर भाग रहे हैं या नहीं । मैं आपके सामने उदाहरण रखना चाहता हूं । अगर आज कोई आदमी हरियाणा मे अपनी 5 बीघा जमीन बेच दे तो उसका दाम ढाई लाख मिलेगा–दिल्ली हरियाणा के बार्डर पर । उस ढाई लाख को बैंक में फिक्स्ड डिपाजिट में रख दें तो 30 हजार रुपए साल की आमदनी होगी । 5 आदमी झुग्गी झोपड़ी लेकर रहने लगें तो ढाई हजार रुपया प्रति महीना खर्च कर सकते हैं और उनका ढाई लाख रुपया फिक्सड डिपाजिट में रहेगा । खेती में वह 5 बजे से रात के 12 बजे तक रहता है, उसकी औरत, उसके बच्चे दिन-रात काम करते हैं । उस पर भी कभी सूखे के शिकार, कभी बाढ़ के शिकार, कभी भैंस मर गई, कभी गाय मर गई, कभी बेटी के विवाह का खर्चा–सिर्फ तबाही और बर्बादी । इस तरफ आप विचार कीजिए । चाहे इलाहाबाद का किसान ले लीजिए, चाहे मेरठ का, अगर वह अपनी जमीन का टुकड़ा बेच दे और रुपए फिक्स्ड डिपाजिट में रख दे तो सूद से जितनी आमदनी होगी वह 5 बीघे के खेत से नहीं होगी । आज सारा देश आपको आशीर्वाद दे रहा है, वही आशीर्वाद दे रहे हैं जो गरीब हैं भूखे हैं—वे लोग नहीं जिनके हाथ में प्रेस है, जिनके हाथ में सेन्टर आफ़ पावर हैं ।

मैं आखिर में यही निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि कारखानों में पैदा होने वाली चीजों और खेतों में पैदा होनेवाली चीजों के दामों में जो सन्तुलन रखने की नीति श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में तय की गई उसको पूरा कीजिए (**समय की घंटी**)

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय आखिरी बात । श्री राजीव गांधी हमारे प्रधान मंत्री बम्बई में '84' में उन्होंने घोषणा की कि हिन्दुस्तान में एग्रीकल्चरल कास्ट एंड प्राइसिंग कमीशन बनेगा । पहले एग्रीकल्चरल के सामानों की कास्टिंग होगी, तब प्राइसिंग होगी आदरणीय कृषि मंत्री श्री बूटा सिंह ने इसी सदन में नवम्बर '85' में कहा कि एक महीने के अन्दर एग्रीकल्चरल कास्ट एंड प्राइसिंग कमीशन की घोषणा कर दी जायगी । डेढ वर्ष बीत जाने के बाद भी आज एग्रीकल्चरल कास्ट एड प्राइसिंग कमीशन की घोषणा सरकार ने नहीं की । जब घोषणा नहीं की तो एग्रीकल्चरल गुडस के दाम कौन डिटरमिन कर रहा है ? अनापसनाप अपने मन हो रहा है । आदरणीय वित्त मंत्री जी, सारे उत्तर प्रदेश के किसान मुझ से कहते हैं, विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह जी मुख्य मंत्री थे, किसानों की हालत जानते हैं, आज वित्त मंत्री हैं, वित्त मंत्री रहते उनसे करा लीजिए रोज-रोज मन्त्रिमंडल बदलता रहता है, कल क्या हो, एग्रीकल्चरल कास्ट एंड प्राइस कमीशन उनसे बनवा लीजिए । तो मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि एक रूपये का माल बिकेगा कारखानों का सो रुपए मे और 50 रुपए का माल किसान का बिकेगा दो रुपये में, तो किसान दरिद्र होता जायगा और बिरला , टाटा, सिंहानिया और पदमानिया लाखों में पति और अरबपति होते जायेंगे और फिर भारत सरकार को अपने टर्म डिक्टेट करेंगे और आप के लिये लम्बे लम्बे एडोटोरियल लिखेंगे । तो मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आप सही कदम उठा रहे हैं।

यह संविधान की किताब है। यह डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स आफ दि कांस्टीट्यशन हैं। यह संविधान का प्रियेबिल है जिस में लिखा है कि आजादी के बाद गरीबी और अमीरी की खाई को पाटा जायेगा। अमीरी का कैलाश गिरेगा और गरीबी की खाई पटेगी। हम संविधान में कसम खाते हैं कि हम ठोस कदम उठा कर लोगों को सोशल जस्टिस देंगे और एकोनामिक डिस्पैरिटी को खत्म करेंगे। लेकिन पिछले 38 सालों में कुछ मुट्ठी भर लोग इस मुल्क की दौलत के मालिक बन बैठे है और 27 हजार करोड़ रुपया हमारे बैंकों से केवल 11 मोनोपोली हाउसेज को दिया गया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण इस लिये किया था कि बैंकों की पूंजी सोशल और इकोनामिक क्रान्ति के लिये खर्च की जायगी। वह गांवों के विकास पर खर्च होगी। हिन्दुस्तान के बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हुआ और केवल 11 पूंजीपतियों को 27000 करोड़ रुपया मिल गया और चार परसेंट उनका शेयर है और उस से व पूरी कंपनी के मालिक बन बैठे, किसी का 3 परसेंट शेयर है और वे डी सी एम के मालिक बन बैठे, किसी का दो परसेंट शेयर है और वे किसी और कंपनी के मालिक बन बैठे यह नहीं होना चाहिए। जब तक किसी का 50 परसेंट शेयर न हो उसे किसी कंपनी का मालिक नहीं बनना चाहिए इस प्रकार की कोई व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए और अपने देश के किसानों के साथ न्याय किया जाना चाहिए।

आप ने जिस तरह से वर्ल्ड बैंक और आई एम एफ के लोन को अस्वीकार कर के जिस तरह से भारत के स्वाभिमान को ऊंचा किया है और राजीव गांधी के भारत के सम्मान को ऊंचा उठाने की कोशिश की है उस के लिए आप बधाई के पात्र हैं। हमारी गर्दन तभी नहीं झुकेगी जब एक किसान का बेटा हिन्दुस्तान का वित्त मंत्री होगा और वह किसानों की जिन्दगी सुधारने के लिये ठोस और समयबद्ध कदम उठायेगा।

राष्ट्र नेता राजीव गांधी के सपने अनुसार हम 21वीं सदी में भारत को ले जा गांधी जी ने आजादी का सपना देखा थ और हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हो गया। जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने माडर्न भारत का सपना देखा था और हिन्दुस्तान आधुनिक राष्ट्र बन गया। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने शक्तिशाली हिन्दुस्तान का सपना देखा था और बंगला देश को जंग के बाद हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया में एक शक्तिशाली देश के रूप में माना जाने लगा। राजीव गांधी ने 21वीं सदी में ले जाने का सपना देखा है। हमें विश्वास है कि हम आजादी की लड़ाई के अतीत को सामने रख कर भविष्य के सुहावने दिनों का निर्माण करेंगे और भारत को 21वीं सदी में ले जा कर अपने सपनों को साकार करेंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty four minutes past six the clock till eleven of the clo on Tuesday, the 6th May, 1986